

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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NEW YORK:
EATON & MAINS.
CINCINNATI:
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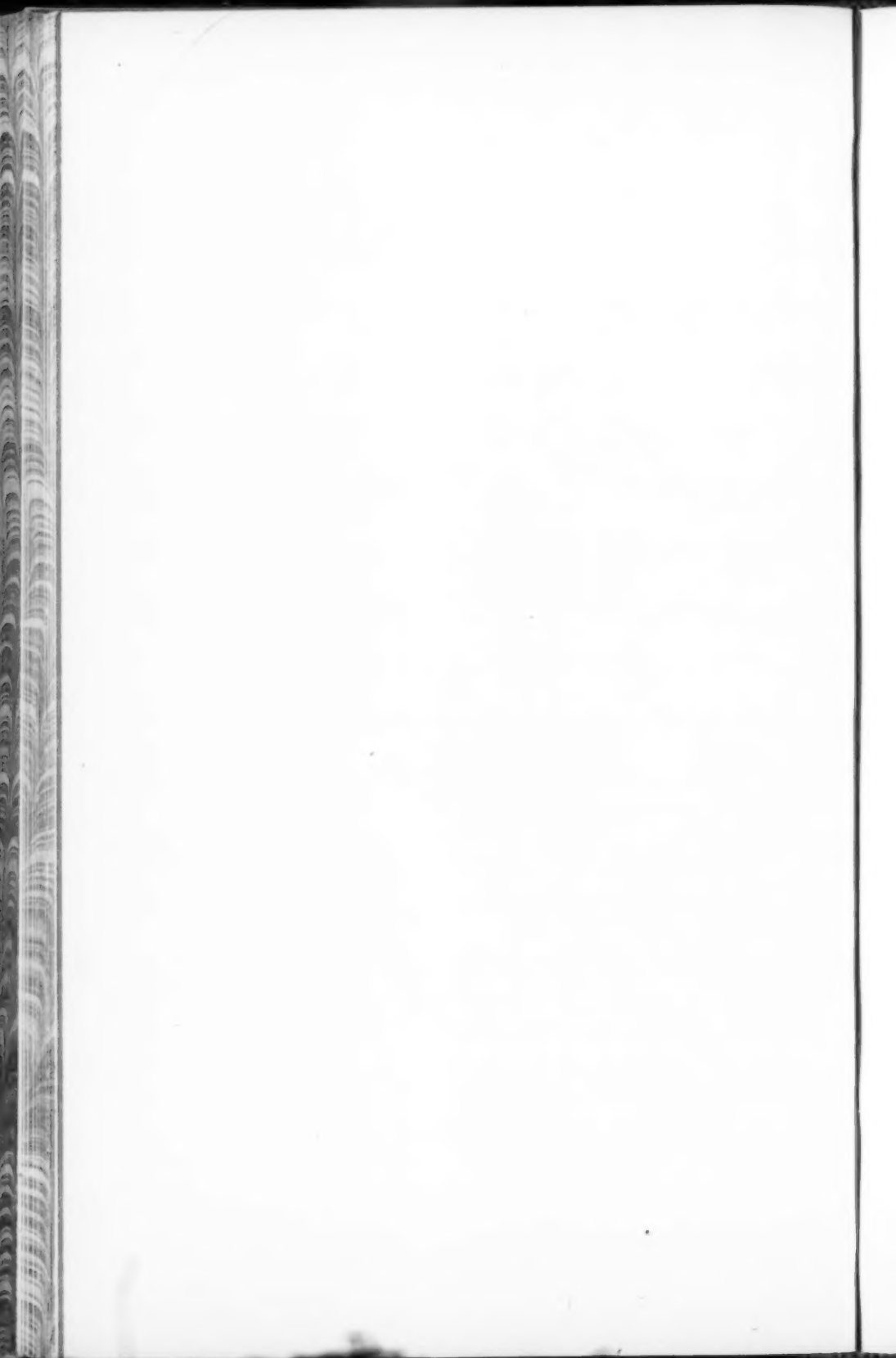
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**EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.**



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METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1899.

ART. I.—WYCLIF THE PROPHET OF PROTESTANTISM AND OF THE METHODIST ITINERANCY.

It was formerly thought that Wyclif reached his full position at once. But the truth is that there was a gradualness in his theological history which makes him less a portent, but more a remarkable teacher.* Take, for instance, his attitude toward the pope. Down to 1378 he recognized the papacy as useful and, within certain limits, as a divine institution. He allowed it a spiritual supremacy in the Church, but only when it was true to its spiritual ideals. It had no civil jurisdiction, nor any right to levy taxes on the State. The greatness of the pope stands in humility, poverty, and readiness to serve; when he becomes degenerate and secularized he becomes an arch heretic and must be put down. But even in its spiritual province the papacy is not necessary to salvation, nor has it unconditioned plenary power; and, moreover, one has the right to investigate its claims to plenary power.†

Even in this early stage Wyclif had reached the point allowed by Melancthon, that the pope might be recognized as the head of the Church by human right, but not by divine right. The infallibility of the pope and of the Church he stoutly denied. Before 1378 Wyclif's position was exactly like that of the Gallicans and the present ultra High Churchmen of England. It is a singular instance of historic evolution that the only representatives of the moderate Romanism of the

* See Lechler, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. 1, translated with additions by Lorimer, chap. viii, sec. 11.

† See the two earliest and two of the most important of Wyclif's Latin treatises, *De Civili Dominio* and *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, the latter written in 1378.

pre-Vatican times are now to be found within the bounds of the Church of England.

The next stage of Wyclif's antipapal progress was brought about by the schism of 1378, when Urban VI and Clement VII were cursing each other and using every other weapon of hostility. He now declared that the Church would be much better off without either, and professed himself independent of both popes.* But this neutral position could not be long maintained. Wyclif must either retreat or advance. Lechler expresses this admirably:

It was inevitable, from the nature of the case, that an ever-sharpening antagonism and a warfare against papacy, growing continually more uncompromising, should develop itself. And to this the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, in which Wyclif began to engage in the year 1382, essentially contributed. The more violently he was calumniated and attacked by the friends of the papacy, on account of his criticism of the doctrine of transubstantiation, all the more did the papacy itself appear to him to be a limb of Antichrist. To this period of his life—1382-84—belong all the strong assaults upon the Church which have been heretofore known to the world from his *Trialogues* and several popular writings in English. But these attacks become better understood, both psychologically and pragmatically, only when we think of them as a climax gradually realized. All the usurpations of the papacy hitherto censured and opposed by Wyclif were now seen by him for the first time in the light of a corruption of Christianity of the widest extent and immeasurably deep, for which he could find no more appropriate name than "Antichristianism." The systematic spoliation of the national churches, the haughty pride, the worldly character of the papal government, the claim to hierarchical domination over the whole world—all these features of the degenerate papacy were attacked by Wyclif after this date, as well as before, but were now for the first time seen by him in their connection with what was the worst feature of all—with an assumption of divine attributes and rights which seemed to him to stamp the pope as Antichrist.†

Wyclif saw that such absolutism was the very kernel of the papacy, and inasmuch as the pope could not be content with the pastoral care of souls, in humility and sanctity, but must labor for worldly greatness and dignity, and rests his claim on the blasphemous assumption that he is vicegerent of Christ on earth, Wyclif boldly contended that the very office itself is of

* See his *De Ecclesia*, written in the latter part of 1378, and his *Cruciata*, probably written soon after.

† Lechler, pp. 316, 317.

the wicked one, and did not hesitate to use the well-known words of Paul (2 Thess. ii, 3) as characterizing this great apostasy of the "man of sin." The veneration given to the pope is blasphemy all the more detestable since by it divine honor is given to a limb of Lucifer, who, because of his wickedness, is a more abominable idol than a painted block.*

As to the doctrine of the Church in general, Wyclif reached a stanchly Protestant position. He abolished the unscriptural distinction between the clergy and laity which is at the bottom of the Catholic claim, both Roman and Anglican. The noble word of Wyclif was worthy to be written in gold as the eternal charter of Protestantism, "*Omnem Christianum oportet esse theologum.*" "Every Christian," he says, "ought to be a theologian, because it is necessary for every Christian to understand the faith of the Church, either by an inspired knowledge or a knowledge humanly acquired; for otherwise he could not be faithful, since faith is the highest theology."† He holds that, while the clergy may go astray in both doctrine and life, the laity may remain faithful, and in case the former should err from the way the laity have a right to withhold from them their earthly goods, or, in other words, to repudiate them. Wyclif nowhere uses the words "priesthood of all believers," but he cordially accepted the idea, and thus parted completely from the Catholic conception. A Christian layman stands before God infinitely higher than a priest or bishop, if the latter is only Christian in name.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years before Luther, Wyclif restored the apostolic theory of the ministry. The hierarchical gradation, which the Anglican Church has retained from the Roman, he entirely repudiated. As early as 1377 Gregory XI mentions his belief in the parity of the ministry as one of his nineteen heretical tenets. Every priest, says Wyclif, has the power of ordaining and administering all the sacraments.‡

* See all this set forth at length in Wyclif's last writings—the *Triologus*, the *Supplementum Triologi*, the *De Blasphemia*, the *De Apostasia*, the *Latin Sermons*, the *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, and others.

† *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacre*, xxiv.

‡ *Hoc ergo catholice credi debet, quod quilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus habet potestatem sufficientem qualibet sacramenta conferendi . . . absolvendi, nec aliter potest papa absolvere. Nam quantum ad potestatem ordinis omnes sacerdotes sunt pares.*—*De Civili Dominio*, i, 38.

He says again: "I assert boldly, first, that in the primitive Church, from the time of Paul, two orders of clergy sufficed, namely, the priest and the deacon. I say, second, that in the time of the apostle the presbyter and the bishop were the same. See 1 Tim. iii, and Titus i."* This ought not to have been considered very heretical, as the canon law contained the same idea and the quotation from Jerome in which he speaks of the original identity of bishops and presbyters.† It is, however, a singular illustration of the state of historical knowledge in the fourteenth century that Wyclif traces the development of the episcopate as a separate order, and all the hierarchical assumptions of the papacy—as well, of course, as the temporal possessions of the pope—to the pretended Donation of Constantine to Silvester I. "*Superbia Cæsarea*," he says, "imperial pride has brought in these orders and grades."‡ Nowhere, perhaps, does the originality and penetration of Wyclif's genius shine out more than in his spiritual conception of the Church, and in his anticipation of the modern restoration of the ecclesiology of Christ.

High Church scholars—and nearly all Episcopal scholars are now High Church—depreciate greatly Wyclif's work on account of his Protestantism. One of these in an able article on Wyclif says:

Wyclif anticipated most of the abuses by which the extreme fanaticism of the Puritans was subsequently characterized. [The effort of the Puritans to reform the Church on a scriptural basis is called fanaticism.] In the first place, he rightly insisted on the supremacy and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures. But he held them to be supreme, not only in matters of faith and revealed truth, but in political affairs and in rites and ceremonies. [This is misleading. He held that no rites and ceremonies were of divine obligation except such as were deduced from Scripture.] In the second place, he entirely mistook the nature of the Church. He regarded the institution as consisting only of holy persons who were predestined to salvation, and held that her sacraments were vitiated by the imperfections of her ministers. [This is incorrect. Wyclif held that ungodly men ought not to minister in the Church, but he never taught that

* *Dialogus* iv, 15. He says also, in the *Supplementum Dialogi*, vi, "*Ut olim omnes sacerdotes vocati fuerunt episcopi.*"

† See *Decreti*, Pars i, *Distinct.* 35, c. 5, and Jerome's *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*, i, 5. See Lechler, p. 311.

‡ *Dialogus* iv, 15. He says again, "*Tertia introducta est secundum ordinationem Cæsaream presidentia episcoporum.*"—*Sermons for Saints' Days*, No. 46.

the efficacy of the sacrament to the recipient depended upon the holiness of the priest. On the contrary, he asserted plainly more than once that an unworthy minister can administer the sacraments validly to the spiritual health of the faithful recipient, but to condemnation to himself.* He maintained that God himself worked in the sacrament and was not dependent therefore on the character of the minister. "Thes Antichrist's sophistris schulden knowe well that a cursed man doth fully the sacramentis, though it be to his dampnyng, for they ben not autoris of thes sacramentis, but God kepeth that dygnyte to hymself."† Lechler has fully elucidated this.‡] In the third place, he recognized only the two orders of priests and deacons in the Church, and held that episcopal ordination was unnecessary for the ministry. A predestinarian in religion, a presbyterian in Church government, almost a Zwinglian in his latest views of the eucharist, he was the progenitor of the extremes of the Puritans. By his one-sided insistence on the supremacy of the Scriptures he fostered the unreasoning detestation of the cross in baptism or of the ring in marriage, ignored the functions of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies, denied the value of apostolic tradition, and let loose upon the interpretation of the Bible the caprice of human ingenuity. By this misconception of the nature and constitution of the Church he sacrificed historical continuity, founded the principles on which the reign of the "saints" was established, distorted the true view of the efficiency of the sacraments, and opened the door to the multiplication of sects.§

This is a good indication of the differences between so-called Catholicism and Protestantism.

In his idea of Church and State Wyclif is also thoroughly Protestant. The spiritual and temporal sovereignties are kept asunder. One has no right to interfere with the other. Each is responsible to God. The pope has no authority in the civil realm. "To rule temporal possessions," says Wyclif, "after a civil manner, to conquer kingdoms and exact tributes, appertain to earthly lordships, not to the pope; so that, if he pass by and set aside the office of spiritual rule, and entangle himself in those other concerns, his work is not only superfluous, but also contrary to Holy Scripture."|| Wyclif, in fact, looks forward to an ideal in which civil polity and law will be no longer necessary in the Church. "The law of the Gospel," he

* See *Trial*, iv, 10, 12; *De Ecclesia*, xix; *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacre*, xii.

† *Wyclif's Select English Works*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, iii, 27.

‡ Chap. viii, sec. 12.

§ Article "John Wyclif," in *Church Quarterly Review*, London, Oct., 1891, p. 125.

|| *De Civili Dominio*, i, 11. R. L. Poole in his invaluable *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, London, 1884, chap. x, has given a full exposition of Wyclif's views under the head of "Church and State."

says, "is sufficient by itself, without the civil law or that called canonical, for the perfect rule of the Church militant."* As to lordship itself, it is founded on grace. The meek "shall inherit the earth." Righteousness is the only test of valid property holdings. On the one hand this invalidates the claim of the pope and bishops to their immense estates, and on the other it puts in jeopardy the property of all men and absolves the people from allegiance to a wicked ruler. But this principle Wyclif did not push to an extreme. It was an ideal only. "In the perfect state," he said, "all things would be in common."† In the meantime men must obey their rulers.

It has been often asserted that Wyclif's principles here were revolutionary, that he taught insubordination and anarchy. Nothing could be farther from the truth. He repeatedly inculcated obedience to rulers and masters. "If thou art a laborer," he says, "live in meekness, and truly and willingly, so thy master, if he be a heathen man, by thy meekness, willing and true service, may not have a grudge against thee, nor slander thy God nor thy Christian profession." And much more he writes to the same effect. Every man ought to live in quietness and obedience, in love and equity, according to the estate in which Providence has placed him.‡ Wyclif had to meet this misrepresentation in his own day. "Some men that are not of charity slander poor priests [his itinerants] with this error, that servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rent and service from their lords when lords be openly wicked in their living." His earnest scriptural character—he appealed himself to 1 Pet. ii, 18, and Rom. xiii, 1-7—should save him from any charge of this kind. Wyclif's great service in relation to the doctrine of Church and State was in holding that the Church should keep to its spiritual functions purely, that "property has its duties as well as its rights," that property is responsibility—responsibility to the Suzerain of the universe to use it well for God's glory and the good of men, and that when wasted in evil ways God has a right to resume control.§

* *De Civili Dominio*, cap. 17.

† *Ibid.*, cap. 30.

‡ See Wyclif's tract, *A Short Rule of Life for each Man in General, for Priests, Lords, and Laborers in Special*.

§ See Burrows's *Wyclif's Place in History*, p. 16; John "Wicliffe: His Life and Work," in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Dec., 1884, pp. 750, 751.

When we consider his attitude toward the Bible, the completeness with which Wyclif grasped the fundamental idea of Protestantism is apparent. In this respect nothing was lacking. He said:

The Holy Scripture is the faultless, most true, most perfect, and most holy law of God, which it is the duty of all men to learn, to know, to defend, and to observe, inasmuch as they are bound to serve the Lord in accordance with it, under the promise of an eternal reward. . . . The Holy Scripture is the one word of God, also the whole law of Christ is one perfect word proceeding from the mouth of God; it is therefore not permitted to sever the Holy Scripture, but to allege it in its integrity according to the sense of the author. If God's word is the life of the world, every word of God is the life of the human soul; how may any Antichrist, for dread of God, take it away from us that be Christian men, and thus suffer the people to die of hunger in heresy and blasphemy of men's laws, that corrupteth and slayeth the soul? . . . It is impossible that any word or deed of the Christian should be of equal authority with Holy Scripture.*

Wyclif accepted unreservedly the principle of the sole and sufficient authority of the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, thus anticipating the Reformation in announcing the formal principle of Protestantism. This gave him among his contemporaries the title of "Doctor Evangelicus," as embodying the distinctive trait of his teaching and character, just as Adam Marsh was called a "Doctor Illustris;" Alexander of Hales, "Doctor Irrefragabilis;" Albertus Magnus, "Doctor Universalis;" Henricus de Gandavo, "Doctor Solemnis;" Bradwardine, "Doctor Profundus;" Bacon, "Doctor Mirabilis;" Duns Scotus, "Doctor Subtilis;" and Thomas Aquinas, "Doctor Angelicus." He declared his faith in the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture, which he identifies with the incarnate Word, rejected the apocryphal writings by which the Church supported her doctrines, and stigmatized those who read the decretals as fools. Wyclif's opponents charged him with borrowing the opinions of Occam in regard to the Bible, but this he denied, saying that his views on this matter were taken from Scripture and the writings of the fathers. In this he was correct. Occam appeals to the Bible

*See *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, *Triologus*, *De Civili Dominio*, and *De Ecclesia*, passim.

constantly, but his appeal is to the Bible and Church teaching combined, and it does not occur to him that the doctrines of the Church should first be independently judged to find out whether they are in accordance with Scripture, and thence received or rejected.* But Wyclif with a bound swept away all other supports, and appealed to the word of God and to that word alone.

In the reaction from Ullmann's excessive emphasis on the evangelical elements of the pre-Reformation reformers,† Karl Müller has gone to the other extreme in denying them any evangelical conception whatever.‡ He says that the teaching of Wyclif and Hus, namely, that Church membership depends on keeping God's law and not on the recognition of the hierarchy, and that this law is in the Bible and not in the hierarchy, does not leave the mediæval ground, because the Church as a means of grace with clergy and sacraments is still recognized and honored.§ But Protestantism constantly recognizes Church and sacraments as a means of grace, only insisting with Wyclif that everything must be true to the norm, the word. If otherwise it is not Protestantism, but Rationalism and the new Unitarianism. There is a degree of truth, however, in Müller's thought that Wyclif's doctrine of dominion is congenial with mediæval ideas. All mankind form a great complex life under God as supreme feudal lord, from whom every man receives in fee his worldly possessions; and they may rightly be lost by a breach of vassal obligations. But so much is conceded to the minimizing judgment of Karl Müller concerning Wyclif's Protestantism as to say that it is not to be expected that he should have attained to the fullness of the evangelical assurance of faith. He swept away all notions of merit and of works of supererogation. He denied utterly the idea of a treasure house of merits held in heaven to the credit of the pope, an idea which played such an important part in the Middle Ages and on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded.

* See Lechler on this, chap. viii, sec. 2, whose treatment of Wyclif's attitude to the Bible is exhaustive and admirable.

† See his well-known book, *Reformers Before the Reformation*, in German, 1842, 2d ed., 1866; in English, Edinburgh, 1842, 4th ed., 1874.

‡ *Bericht über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vor-reformationschen Zeit*, in *Vorträge der theol. Konferenz zu Gießen*, 1887.

§ H. M. Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theology*, vi, 229.

He held to the necessity of repentance and conversion, and his ideas on both were quite satisfactory; but he does not grasp the simplicity and freedom of faith as taught by Paul and received by Luther and given its rightful place and power by Wesley. With Wyclif faith is still too much a belief with the intellect and not enough a trust of the heart. In his doctrine of faith as a belief of the Gospel, Wyclif still stood on mediæval ground. Every man is the product of his age; and, however far Wyclif went beyond it in many of his ideas, it was perhaps absolutely impossible for him to arrive at the material principle of Protestantism—that principle which makes it what it is, which forms its matter or substance—the doctrine of justification by faith. And it was this failure which marks the gap between Wyclif and Luther. But it was not until two hundred years after Luther that this doctrine was made a principle of evangelism.

Professor Shirley was the first to call attention to Wyclif's anticipation of Wesley's itinerancy—the resemblance between the "poor priests" and "Wesley's lay preachers, such as they were while his strong hand was upon them." * Nothing illustrates better Wyclif's practical genius than his determination to sow England deep with evangelical principles by sending out priests and laymen—for he employed both—armed with copies of the gospels and epistles which he had just translated, and with his vigorous English tracts and pamphlets. They went forth in long garments of coarse woolen cloth—barefooted, with staff in hand, as pilgrims wandering from village to village, town to town—preaching, teaching, warning, wherever they could find hearers, in church, churchyard, street, and market place. The Church authorities were deeply enraged by this itinerant propagandism of heresy; and Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, calls attention to "certain unauthorized itinerant preachers, who set forth erroneous, yea, heretical, assertions in public sermons, not only in churches, but also in public squares and other profane places, and they do this under

* *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, London, 1858, p. xli. The first modern biographer of Wyclif, Lewis, hardly mentions the poor priests; but that enthusiastic Wyclifite, Robert Vaughan, does full justice to this aspect of the reformer's work. See his *Life and Opinions of Wycliffe*, 2d ed., rev., London, 1831, li, 163, ff. Lechler is full and satisfactory here, as everywhere. 2d ed., London, 1884, 189, ff. Wesley himself never mentions Wyclif.

the guise of great holiness, but without having obtained any episcopal or papal authorization." * The sermons of Wyclif's preachers were simple presentations of Gospel facts and ethics, especially the latter, which they enforced with great vigor and plainness of speech. They were sent out by Wyclif from Oxford and from Lutterworth, their special field of activity being Leicestershire, though they extended beyond that; and their time was in the last part of Wyclif's life, perhaps 1375-82. Wyclif wrote many tracts, both in English and Latin, in defense of them, one of which, *De Graduationibus Scholasticis*, is a support of the right to employ men not graduates to preach the Gospel, which he proves from Scripture and the practice of the Church.†

In another of these tracts, *Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices*, he gives a scathing picture of the state of the Church. In order to obtain a pastoral charge a priest must usually buy his way, presenting to the prelate firstfruits and other unlawful contributions, or he must combine with it some worldly office inconsistent with the life of a priest. Vicious and incompetent men, therefore, may obtain the care of many thousand souls. Says Wyclif:

But if there be any simple man who desireth to live well, or to teach truly the law of God, he shall be deemed a hypocrite, a new teacher, a heretic, and not suffered to come to any benefice. If in any little poor place he shall live a poor life he shall be so persecuted and slandered that he shall be put out by wills, extortions, frauds, or worldly violence, and imprisoned or burnt.

Some lay patrons, "to cover their simony, will not take for themselves, but kerchiefs for the lady, or a palfrey, or a tun of wine. And when some lords would present a good man, then some ladies are the means of having a dancer presented, or a tripper on tapits, or a hunter, or a hawker, or a wild player of summer gambols." It was almost impossible, therefore, for poor priests to accept benefices without contracting the guilt of simony. Another reason why poor priests could not accept benefices was the fear of being compelled to misspend poor men's goods—misspending, that is, the income of the cure on ecclesiastics, patrons, rich entertainments, and the like. Wyclif

* Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 158.

† This tract is still in manuscript in Vienna.

here mentions a curious custom which shows the depth of infamy to which the Church had descended :

On each holy day these small curates shall commonly have letters from their ordinaries to summon and curse poor men [for not paying more into the coffers of the Church], and for naught except the covetousness of the clerks of Antichrist; and if they refuse to summon and curse them, though they know not why they should, they shall be injured, and summoned from day to day, from one far place to a farther, or be accursed, or lose their benefice, or their profits.

Wyclif reprobrates in the strongest language these "accursed deceits."

But Wyclif's chief reason for the itinerant life for his helpers is that in this manner they can better "help their brethren heavenward, whether by teaching, praying, or giving example." He adds :

By this they most surely save themselves and help their brethren; and they are free to fly from one city to another when they are persecuted by the clerks of Antichrist, as Christ biddeth and the Gospel. And thus they may best, without any challenging of men, go and dwell among the people where they shall most profit; and for the time convenient, coming and going after the moving of the Holy Ghost, and not being hindered from doing what is best by the jurisdiction of sinful men. Also they follow Christ and the apostles more in taking voluntary alms of the people whom they teach than in taking dimes and offerings by customs which sinful men have ordained in the time of grace.

Parish priests who were faithful to their trust are not condemned. On this Wyclif writes:

Nevertheless, they condemn not curates who do well their office, and dwell where they shall most profit, and teach truly and stably the law of God against false prophets and the accursed deceptions of the fiend. Christ, for his endless mercy, help his priests and common people to beware of Antichrist's deceits, and to go even the right way to heaven. Amen, Jesus, for thy endless charity.*

It is the glory of Wyclif that he saw that the true work of the minister was preaching. When one of his preachers, William Thorp, was examined by Archbishop Arundel, the accused itinerant made the following noble confession, fully

* See Vaughan, *Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe*, illustrated principally from his unpublished manuscripts, II, 184-186. Arnold, *Wyclif's English Works*, III, p. xx, classes the tract, *Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices*, as one of the doubtful works of Wyclif, and does not print it.

worthy of Wesley when experiencing like persecutions four hundred years later :

By the authority of the word of God, and also of many saints and doctors, I have been brought to the conviction that it is the office and duty of every priest faithfully, freely, and truly to preach God's word. Without doubt it behooves every priest, in determining to take orders, to do so chiefly with the object of preaching the word of God to the people, to the best of his ability. We are accordingly bound by Christ's command to exercise ourselves in such wise as to fulfill this duty to the best of our knowledge and power. We believe that every priest is commanded by the word of God to make God's will known to the people by faithful labor, and to publish it to them in the spirit of love, where, when, and to whomsoever we may.*

It was formerly believed that Wyclif's poor priests were priests, but Lechler and Buddensieg have both proved by an examination of the Vienna manuscripts that later in the history of this itinerancy laymen were also employed.† In one place Wyclif insists that a simple unlearned preacher, "ydiota," can do far more good for the building up of the Church than "many graduates in schools and colleges," because he scatters the seed of the law of Christ more humbly and copiously both in word and deed ; and in a sermon the reformer lays down the scriptural and Protestant doctrine that for a ministry in the Church the divine call and commission are perfectly sufficient, that God installs himself, even though there has been no imposition of hands by the bishop.‡ Wyclif is an illustration of the oft-proved fact that whenever a reformer goes back of Church tradition to Scripture, whenever he emphasizes the spiritual and ethical over against the formal and ceremonial, he is bound to return to a nonprelatic theory of the ministry. It is the greatness of Wyclif that in the fourteenth century he clearly grasped this principle, and acted on it in his effort to evangelize England by preaching. In the sixteenth century, with the flood of new light which came in with the printed Bible, it is not strange if the reformers returned to the original

* Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, III, 260; Lechler, p. 194.

† Lechler, p. 195; Buddensieg, *Wyclif, Patriot and Reformer*, p. 65.

‡ "Videtur ergo, quod ad esse talis ministerii ecclesie requiritur auctoritas acceptationis divinæ, et per consequens potestas ac notitia data a Deo ad tale ministerium peragendum, quibus habitis, licet Episcopus secundum traditiones suas non imposuit illi manus, Deus per se instituit."—*Sermons for Saints' Days*, No. 8, fol. 17, col. 1; Lechler, p. 196.

constitution of the Church; but the clear and satisfying insistence on a Christian theory of the ministry two hundred years before is a proof of the clearness, boldness, and accuracy of Wyclif's mind in its simple and unaided studies of the truth.

It is for this reason that Episcopal scholars are inclined to belittle Wyclif's work.* They resent his spiritual views of the ministry and his destructive attitude, and also deny his originality. There were, indeed, noble men to protest against the abuses of mediæval times, but there was not one who in his protests sought also to lay again "the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," and in a large and practical way to build for Christ and country. In Wyclif's emphasis on preaching and on the study of Scripture, and in his effort to use these for popular evangelization, he is entirely unique in the Middle Ages. His itinerancy was to work within ecclesiastical limitations so far as possible, and Shirley states that it was at first employed under episcopal sanction; † but, where the work was needed and consent was withheld, the work of God must not thereby be hindered. ‡

* See article "Cardinal Repyngdon and the Followers of Wycliffe," in *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1884, especially pp. 60-63.

† *Fas. Zizan.*, p. xl.

‡ See, also, "Wiclif and his Works," in the *Quarterly Review*, London, clxviii, 526, 527, April, 1889.

John F. Hurst

ART. II.—THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN
THOUGHT.

I. 1. OUR age has been the age of developing democracy. "We must educate our masters," said the statesmen who saw the coronation of the people. The schoolmaster shall be the saviour of our newer commonwealth. Knowledge, or what was counted knowledge, was diffused with enthusiasm—which went well enough until knowledge disappeared in speculation and skepticism, leaving the startled multitudes to amuse themselves, if they could, in carnivals of doubt. We in America were slow to feel the movement, but we feel it now. We were isolated by our situation, busy with the conquest of our frontiers, taught chiefly by men and women of devout faith, who rejoiced in the traditional creeds. But the tremendous inventions of our age reunited us to Europe. They made us sharers of European ideas and tendencies; they brought about an immigration of thought more potent than the immigration of people. The doubts of learned Germany, the desperate dreams of socialistic France, the serious skepticism of England and Scotland began to operate upon us. Strauss and Goethe, Fourier and Comte, Carlyle and Spencer, Colenso and Darwin, Renan and Victor Hugo began their sway, and signs of religious dissolution soon appeared. Here, as in Europe, the masses began to imbibe, often unconsciously, the opinion that science, philosophy, history were all combined to shake and overturn the throne of Jesus Christ. Now the people are to be the sovereigns of the future, and the Christ of the future must be the Christ of the multitude. The question to be decided is this, Can the Christ of the New Testament satisfy the necessities and the aspirations of the masters of the modern world? If he cannot satisfy them as they now are, can he enlarge, transfigure, and then realize their expectations? The reign of democracy may be brief, but it is inevitable; and no saviour will be accepted, while it lasts, whose victory does not include the triumph of the poor.

2. Coincident with the democratic movement of our century, the movement of the masses into power and into knowl-

edge, there has been another movement of an intellectual character, the movement toward reality. This has shown itself alike in science and in literature, in history and in art, in philosophy and in poetry. They mistake who think that our modern thought is enslaved to materialists and utilitarians. The master of our modern thought is reality. We care for microscope and telescope and spectroscope because they are "open sesame" to reality. We care for documents and monuments, nay, we care for logic and reason, only as they help us to reality—the reality of the past, the reality of the future, before and beyond all the reality of the present. We have grown too familiar with the potencies of the Invisible to crave like little children only realities that we can see and handle. But we refuse to be cheated with ghosts and phantoms. If the universe is only a process, let us know it; if it holds a Person who demands our worship, let him bow the heavens and come down! If we may know only the phases of this body or that being, we are determined to know each of these with perfect accuracy. And this is signally the case with literature and art. The poetry of our age must tell us of the things that are and can be. We have no time for Aladdin's lamp and the regions of the impossible. Poetry, says Mr. Arnold, is a criticism of life. He means it is our highest conception of reality.

But nowhere is this dominion of reality so evident as in the field of history. We are not now seeking epics to thrill us and to give us entertainment. We are seeking to recover the actual, the forms and faces of men and women that worked and wept, hated and schemed, failed and died, as we are going to do. The narratives and documents that satisfied our fathers no more satisfy us than their charts of the seas and their maps of the skies. Nor are we content with their interpretations of the ancient archives. We must read and analyze, interpret, illuminate, and reconstruct them for ourselves. Few escape the spell of this master, Reality. Hegel's attempt was the last desperate effort to dispense with him, to substitute a thought for a fact. "Reality," said Hegel, "we can do without it. We are rational beings. Let us live upon ideas. These are the pith and substance of the world.

Our noblest conceptions of the past are the quintessence of history. The historic process as we discover it by reason, this is the veritable thought of God manifest in the movement of humanity." But philosophy and history succumbed at last to the hunger for reality. History followed science. Even Strauss could not be content with Hegel's disdain of details. The idea of Christ must have had its historic nucleus and process. To discover these, he thought, is essential to a proper treatment of the divine idea. And the panic that ensued when he published his volume was the inevitable result of trying to do without reality. It was the explosion of an ill-concealed dread, the horror of men at the publication of a secret they had buried out of sight. The Hegelians had reconstructed Christianity, but every vestige of history had been expelled in the process. And here now were men clamoring for the actual, and crying fiercely, "Bring out the facts. Who and what was Jesus Christ?"

3. Another characteristic of our age is the tendency to despair. This is the more surprising when we remember the vast extension of human power over nature, through the discoveries of science and the triumphs of inventive genius. True, we have had our optimists, like Emerson and Victor Hugo. Great poets, moreover, like Tennyson and Browning, have tried to soothe themselves and their age with lyrics of the larger hope or lullabies of

God's in his heaven,
All's right with the world.

But the moan of their misery is too audible. They are singing to drive away the ghosts. All except the tranquil Emerson—and even he at times—were troubled with a woe that they could neither explain nor abolish, and were tormented by questions they could neither answer nor silence. Malthus depicted a human multitude involved in a grim struggle for existence; Darwin enlarged the picture until it included every form of vegetable and animal life. And this took place just as the full import of the teachings of Copernicus and Galileo dawned upon the common mind. Whether the earth went round the sun or not would matter little, after all, if the telescope had not revealed the vastness of the universe, and the

microscope had not revealed in every clod a world beyond our apprehension. To use an algebraic phrase, our knowledge has been growing in arithmetical, and our ignorance in geometrical, progression. We have increased in certain kinds of power only to become more conscious of our weakness, of the brevity of life, the certainty of pain, and the doubtful issue of this universal struggle in which all engage and all succumb. There is, indeed, something appalling in the thought of a struggle that extends over spaces so immense and into worlds so multitudinous. One staggers at such possibilities of suffering in so many regions crowded, perhaps, with creatures like ourselves. What Galileo with his demonstrations and his telescope disclosed but faintly, seems in certain dreadful moments to the modern thinker like the pall of a dead God, terrible in its glittering splendor, but concealing forever the form of one that never was and never shall be. David's firmament was small, flecked with a few thousand splendid points, every one of which, however, proclaimed the presence and the glory of Jehovah. But the firmament of Herschel and of Bessel stretches beyond the reach of human thought, and through the spaces roll tremendous globes and countless systems, which to the modern agnostic are bereft of angels and bereft of God. They blind the searcher's eyes with mystery, while they freeze his heart with visions of universal struggle and universal death.

To complete now this degradation of man Kant appeared, and pointed out the narrow limits in which the human mind was forever banned and bound. The import of his teaching made itself felt but slowly. Indeed, not a few intoxicated expounders of the Absolute danced about the sober sage of Königsberg and obscured his meaning. Reluctantly enough men succumbed to the new doctrine—some to erect their ignorance into an idolatry by making a dogma of agnosticism, and some to begin anew the search for truth with chastened and humbled spirit.

In an age less democratic, in an age less hungry for reality, the despair of which we are speaking would have been the sorrow of the few, and not the misery of the many. Or, if the increase of human power over nature, if our mills and our

machinery had been followed by an early and vast diminution of poverty and an enormous increase of human happiness, men and women exulting in their triumphs and their joys would have bothered their brains but little about the struggle for life, or the limits of knowledge, or the possibilities of suffering in a universe without a God. But the masses of men have been disappointed with the outcome of science and invention. The necessity of effort and of combat is the staple good-spel or ill-spel of our generation. Even the children in the public schools are taught to face their environment with deliberate hostility, and that they must win—or, rather, wring—from their surroundings a living or a fortune, escape from misery, and possibly a tiny cup of bliss.

II. What, then, is Jesus Christ to this democratic, realistic age beclouded with despair?

1. Would it be too much to answer, in the first place, that he is the identification of God with the people? We note simply an obvious fact. Thousands of men and women worship as divine a poor, despised, rejected, crucified man. They worship, not a king, but a carpenter—not a conqueror, but a penniless teacher, who taught the equality of men before God in words too plain for misconstruction. And the real charm, the divine magic of this poverty lies in the belief that it was deliberately chosen. The Pauline letters are older, probably, than the gospels. To the unlettered reader both agree in their conception of Jesus Christ, and it is this conception that holds men loyal to him. If—so their hearts tell them—if God went forth in this marvelous fashion for the salvation of the poor, then God is forever on the side of the people. And he who is not for the people has not the mind of Jesus Christ. As Paul and John portray that mind it gives a sanction to democracy, an inspiration to its champions, a guarantee of its triumph the like of which the boldest poet never dreamed. For the only hope of democracy is the perfectibility of man. And the pledges of that perfection are the stained cross and empty tomb of Jesus Christ. Degrade the crucifixion, now, to a merely human event, and it becomes simply a great, perhaps the greatest, popular crime in the annals of Jerusalem. This, at most. If, however, the cross is what Paul thought

it—the symbol of divine love, the infinite stretch of divine tenderness resolved upon the salvation and perfection of humanity—then the cross is also the symbol of the people's victory, the sign of a conquering but transformed humanity. The biology of our time, untempered by the Christ-ideal, will make short work of democratic visions. We shall return to absolutism, directly the gospel for the strong supplants the gospel for the poor. We can see, therefore, how the powerful might look with complacency upon a vanishing Christ, expecting him to salute them humbly as he abdicates his throne, but we cannot see how the masses can see him discrowned without a shudder of despair.

2. All the more important is it, therefore, that we reach reality. For not even to save democracy will our age accept of dream-gods. It is one thing to say that democracy will perish with the idea of Christ's divinity; it is quite another thing to hold it fast as an imperishable reality. It is one thing to say that the divine Christ is necessary to the progress of the world; it is quite another thing to show that the divine Christ is the actual marshal that leads the mighty column to victory. The progress of humanity is, after all, not necessary. Who knows? Man may be doomed to an eternal treadmill. We may be compelled to give up Christ and our democratic dreams together. Let us hear, then, the verdict of history. What was he—human or divine?

Well, what does the retrospect of nearly a century of historical criticism tell us touching him? This criticism, beginning with Gibbon, has been bold, searching, learned, ingenious. It has attracted men of various tempers and of different genius. Strauss and Renan, Seely and Tolstoï are as conspicuous for their peculiarities as for their abilities. These, however, were not the critical historians. A saner company has explored the records of Jesus and his times with unexampled thoroughness and illuminated his story with amazing erudition and surprising subtlety. What has been the result?

(a) It is evident that the power of Jesus Christ in the world is inexplicable upon any theory other than that of the apostles. Mark the phrase—the power of Christ in the world, not now the story of his life. A book is never a man. The gospels

are not Jesus Christ; they are only echoes and reflections of him. From the lips and hands of Jesus himself there streamed a potency which created an atmosphere in which his disciples might work their miracles. The gospels are feeble records of that radiated power. No historian of our time would follow Gibbon in his contention that Christ was a calamity, and none would accept as complete Gibbon's explanation of the tremendous miracle that he tried to argue away—the miracle of the Christian conquest of the old society. The more it is understood in detail the less tenable is Gibbon's explanation of it. The wonder grows with every discovery. What energy has been expended by historians upon the early Christian centuries! And yet how much remains to be explored! One thing, however, stands out clear enough—the triumph of the Church! How gloriously divine, then, must have been the momentum imparted by Jesus himself to his disciples and to his hearers! How mighty, too, the impulse imparted by the Holy Spirit, the divine Companion and Comforter, to keep him and his truth alive and efficient in the minds of them that believed! Given this divine momentum, given this unfailling stream of spiritual influence, and the miracle is not so difficult to understand. But any other view enthrones a magnificent delusion as the Saviour of ancient society, and refers the rescue of the world in the moment of extreme peril, not to an incarnation of God and a revelation of truth, but to an eclipse of reason and the worship of a dream.

(b) A second result seems to be this: the gospels and the letters of Paul are inexplicable upon any theory but their own. This theory is very simple. The letters of Paul reveal the Jesus to whom he gladly gave all the energies of his powerful and peculiar genius. The four gospels give us the character and conduct of Jesus as he was remembered and conceived by those who had known him, believed him, proclaimed him, suffered with him, died for him. Harnack, in his *Chronology of the Early Christian Literature*, writes as follows:

There was a time—indeed, an ignorant public thinks it still existing*—in which the old Christian literature, including the New Testament, was regarded as a tissue of delusions and fabrications. This time has passed

* The Italics are the present author's.

away. For men of science it was never more than an episode, in which they learned much and after which they have much to forget. But the results of the following investigations carry the reaction far beyond the middle lines of recent criticism. The oldest literature of the Church is in its main points and in most particulars truthful and reliable. Let us call things by the right names. We are, in our criticism of the sources of the earliest Christianity, beyond all question moving backward to tradition.

In other words, the New Testament contains the archives of the early Christian communities in the days of their primitive power. They tell us how these honest people conceived of the Jesus that they worshiped in the midst of tremendous influences and temptations to conceive him otherwise.

The writer has no wish to press these words, as many have done, beyond their author's meaning. Nevertheless, we think, as Harnack's friend, the Dutch professor, told him, that they carry with them the implication of a supernatural Christ. For the New Testament has made of Jesus the mightiest personality in the world. It is not so wonderful that men like Spinoza, and Stuart Mill, and the author of *Supernatural Religion* stand with bowed head before his majestic moral being. But here is the strange thing. Reconstruct these records as the critics might, there resulted always a man-miracle, a human energy divine, a being whose life would be our condemnation and despair if he were not also our deliverance and inspiration. Now, if it is asked which quality in the gospels gives them this perennial Easter power, we should reply, without hesitation, the prophetic quality. Men talk about the disappearance of the miraculous element from the New Testament, forgetting in their foolishness that prophetic power is the divinest form of the miraculous, forgetting also that the verification of New Testament prophecy is going on before our eyes. These prophecies of Jesus are indelible and indestructible, because they relate, not to particular events, but to the eternal energies of human progress, to his ethics and to his person. The former he reveals beforehand as the ultimate principles of human society. These seemed to his contemporaries, and even to his disciples, absurd and ridiculous. But the march of history has vindicated and enthroned them as divine decrees. The carnal mind hates them now as it hated

them when they were first proclaimed. For "the carnal mind is enmity against God." But Jesus got them started in the world, and only his total and perpetual eclipse could prevent their further sway. The Son of man is already on the judgment throne; men and nations are now being summoned to his bar. Reluctantly enough they come. But come they must. The code contemned and ridiculed, then evaded and explained away, now reasserts itself in majesty, and is hailed by the angel of the future as the harmony of the world.

But the prophetic forecast of his personal power is just as manifest in the New Testament as this foregrasping of the ultimate ethical system. The judge is inseparable from the code that he administers, and Jesus appears in the gospels and everywhere in the New Testament as the sovereign of a redeemed world. When we construct in our imaginations the little groups to which the letters of Paul and the gospels of Matthew and of John were originally read, the contrast between these "weak things" and the majestic claims to which they listened would make us laugh, if it did not subdue us so quickly into solemn astonishment. For we are familiar with the fulfillment of their sublime expectations, of this "foolishness of God." Jesus is already in our modern world what he predicted he would become. We have seen, at least, the outriders of the coronation columns. Pliny and Trajan might be surprised to see the place of Jesus Christ and the nature of his dominion; Matthew and John and Paul could only be delighted. For to them he was the ruler of the repentant and the redeemed of every age. All that rally for the rescue of the world they knew would rally around the standard of the Lamb of God. The dove that fluttered above him was but the symbol of what is now perpetually happening. Every revelation of a divine purpose in human society that whitens modern thought hovers above the head of Jesus Christ, the voice within us proclaiming meanwhile, "This is my beloved Son: hear him." This alone accounts for the persistence of the New Testament Christ in our modern literature throughout the period of radical criticism. Even those who rejected him with the lips worshiped him in their hearts. Like Simon Peter they could not escape, they could not endure his look.

They knew that they were grotesquely illogical; but the incoherence was in their speech, not in their conduct. To accept his ethics, to seek his mind, to long for his approval, this was to follow and to worship him; and they knew well enough that he who conquered their homage was not the handful of Galilean dust left them by the destructive critics, but the Christ of Christmas and of Easter, the Christ of Matthew and of Paul, of Luke and of John—Christ, the Son of the living God. Poets tormented with doubt held to this Redeemer. Tennyson, Whittier, Browning, each in his own way discerned the reality of Jesus and his divinity, Mr. Browning chanting it with an awe that verged toward rapture. This is the modern manifestation of the divine momentum imparted by Jesus to his disciples. This created the New Testament. This vibrates eternally in its pages. This triumphs alike over stupidity and subtlety. This is stronger than criticism and defies prejudice, for it is the power of an endless life. And now that the destructive critics have yielded to saner men, now that the New Testament is handed back to us with the assurance, "Thus and not otherwise did the first disciples conceive of him whom they loved and worshiped," we do well to yield ourselves unreservedly to their convincing magic, and to bow our knees in gladness to the Way, the Life, and the Truth.

(c) For a third result of this inexorable criticism has been to restore to us the real Jesus. The writer will do the past no injustice. The Jesus of the eighteenth century, nay, the Jesus of the eleventh, even, was not wholly an abstraction. Schemes of theology never could hide completely the Saviour and the Son of man. Charles Wesley's famous hymn, "Jesus, Lover of my soul," indicates a rapturous recognition of his real nature; and so did Bernard's

Jesus, the very thought of thee
With sweetness fills the breast.

The cross, moreover, kept for ages the thought of Jesus close to the ground. It fastened him forever to the earth and human experience. And yet the Jesus of Wesley, the divine conqueror of the cross so dear to St. Bernard, was not the Jesus of the New Testament. He was that Jesus in his mightiest aspect, but he was not the Jesus to whom our age

has given a new and glorious Easter festival. When this Jesus of the nineteenth century first appeared to his frightened disciples they took him for a specter. But the presence, the voice, the outstretched hand, so real, so human, were nevertheless divine. And this recovered Christ is just what we needed—so serenely accordant in his speech with all our best discoveries and all our cherished aspirations, so free from blunder and from blame, so tranquilizing in his revelations of God, so majestic in his revelation of himself, so surprising in his reconciliation of all contradictions, so divine in his humanity, and so human in his divinity that he holds us with an indescribable charm, and explains by his influence upon ourselves what we have called the divine momentum of the early disciples.

Think for a moment of the tremendous strain to which the character of Jesus has been subjected. And yet who has found him less lovely in his majesty or less royal in his loveliness? Nay, more. Seen in the light of sober history, is he not the Saviour needed for our day? The cry of "Back to Jesus!" is, after all, a cry of recognition. Earnest men deservy in this sublime figure the features of One mighty to save to the uttermost. Instinctively they exclaim, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life." However they may differ about the details of history or of theology, they agree on this—surrender to Jesus Christ is the hope of men and the liberation of humanity, while the rejection of him as Guide and Redeemer, as moral goal and moral impulse, means a revolution the outcome of which would be the misery of millions. Just as the author wrote these words there came to hand a singular confirmation of them. A woman of South Africa, a woman of great genius, tormented with cruel doubts and the sight of wickedness and misery, appeals to England in behalf of the wretched natives of Mashonaland. And how does she, who hardly believes in God, how does she set about it? Why, she invokes the living Jesus Christ! She brings him to the camp fire of the lonely British trooper, that he may convert the youthful ruffian into a man and a martyr, convert the boy forgetful of his mother's Saviour into the gentle and fearless benefactor who dies to set a negro free. O, but this is poetry, not fact! We say, rather, Jesus

Christ is a living fact confirmed perpetually by the truth of poetry. Let us explain our meaning by a saying of Aristotle, quoted so fondly by Matthew Arnold. "The superiority of poetry over history consists," says Aristotle, "in its possessing a higher truth and a higher seriousness." No wonder, then, that Tennyson and Browning and Whittier have held firmly to a divine Christ, while the radical critics would have abolished him from human history! No wonder that Olive Schreiner, when she pleads for the little ones of Jesus Christ, gets nearer to him than in all her thinkings! But what shall we say when history and poetry combine to give us the same Son of God, the same revelation of infinite love? What shall we say when the radical historian, after thirty years of investigation, tells us, "Yes, your New Testament is an honest book," and a woman of genius in her agony urges instinctively the Jesus of the cross, him with the pierced hands and pierced feet, to stir the hearts of modern men and women?

If the result of historical inquiry had been different, literature shows us how desperately men would have clung to Him who was rich, yet for our sakes became poor. They would have clung to him as their last possible dream of God, personal, tender, infinitely kind. In a kind of dumb terror they would have watched that dream dissolve, in spite of all their frantic efforts to detain it, as it vanished into the eternal silence and the eternal dark. But the gospels have not been taken from us; there they are, and there they remain. Jesus has been restored to us, his reality transcending all our traditions and all our conceptions of him!

3. But, finally, our age is beclouded with despair, beset with difficulties, and faint from vanished hope. What is Christ in such distress? The answer is obvious enough. This age must accept Christ as the perfect and the only perfect speech of God or resign itself to what Ibsen calls the eternal silence of the stars. The feeling is becoming more intense as our difficulties increase; a dumb God in bewilderments like ours were no God at all. This found an almost frantic expression in the poem entitled "Hope in God," with which Alfred de Musset concluded one of his celebrated nights. It is the cry of the prophets of Israel, "Tell me thy name! Show me thy glory! Bow

the heavens and come down!" The yearning has been intensified by the comparative study of religions. For these have shown us how the whole creation groans, how the search for truth is universal, and the disappointment also, unless, peradventure, Jesus is the Truth, and Jehovah did reveal himself to the prophets of Israel. In that case we can conceive the divine splendor striving to break through everywhere and finding it possible at last to make the glorious breach among the Jewish people. We must indeed take our choice. It is Christ or the eternal silence! Speech—consoling, quickening, divine speech—or hopeless, unbroken, implacable stillness! "How can God bear it?" exclaimed Dr. Holmes, in a moment of agonized reflection. "This ceaseless hum of human misery!" "He could not bear it," said Jesus Christ, and so "he sent me, that men might not perish but have everlasting life." Take this away, and the story of the search and struggle for God, the religious history of the world, is a tissue of delusions, drenched and dyed in the bloody sweat of humanity. And in that case we do well to be angry and to fling away our hopes! Who are we to dream of immortality or even of progress? The universe is not a product, but a process. We are midgets only, maddened with our little touch of mind!

And what is true of the religious aspirations is true equally of the social aspirations of our race. When the astronomer scoffs at my conceit and tells me it is a fragment of the worn-out geocentric system, and when the biologist tells me that I am a moving sepulcher of inherited tendencies lighted by a little lamp I fondly call my soul, what shall I answer them, once you take away my Christ? Pascal used to say that the incarnation reinstated man in his self-respect. It revealed at once his meanness and his magnitude. Luther gloried in a similar thought. Out of Christ, Dr. Martin Luther was a pitiful worm; in Christ, he felt the throbbing of eternal life. We may strut and we may amble in the presence of our modern science after we give up Christ, but we dare not reflect, we dare not ponder, ourselves, under penalty of despair. Directly we do that we shrivel into hopeless insignificance. Hence the interest felt in Jesus Christ, the return to him in history and in theology, the desperate tenacity with which the best of men

cling to him personally, in spite of much bewilderment. Applied ideas, said Walter Bagehot, require two generations to make their consequences felt. Two generations have elapsed almost since Mr. Darwin startled the world with his *Origin of Species*, and we are beginning now to feel the consequences. The world is working toward a new morality, or, rather, the world is working back to the old morality that might makes right. The morality of Jesus is not natural; it is either divine or absurd. It is either the outflow of his perfect knowledge of God, or it is the mere dream of a Galilean peasant who mistook his own heart-beats in the presence of human sorrow for the throb of eternal love. Men are mad, it seems to us, who expect to save the moral code of Jesus after they have surrendered his divine authority. He started it. He must sustain it. And when his moral code has perished, what will remain? We are not saying that the Darwinian theories are incompatible with the Gospel of Christ. Our point is this, without Christ as Paul and John conceived him the ethics of Jesus will soon be ground to powder by those theories. For the ethics of Christ are the mind of Christ, and this mind has never been dominant. It has been barely possible even to believers, and, as Paul declared, it would have perished from their hearts but for the image of the living Christ and the promise of his victory. And we repeat our question, After Christ, what then? Why cheat ourselves with new terms and fine phrases? Altruism is at best a tendency, transient and limited. Why strive to make it universal? Why not assist nature by artificial selection? Why not drive the helpless cripple to the wall? *Virtus* is the only virtue. Weakness is the only vice. The brotherhood of man meant something to a divine Redeemer, friend, and brother, of the poor; but what does it mean to a candid biologist who attributes every existing species of life to the persistence with which each struggled to preserve itself and its offspring? "In Christ Jesus," to quote Pascal once more, "all contradictions are reconciled." In him we learned that God had "chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." In him we learned that the future of humanity depends, not upon the perpetuation, but the extinction,

of the struggle. In him we learned to care for the least and the feeblest, lest we lose the noblest and divinest. And therefore we enrich the modern world with ministries of mercy, therefore we go forth, like Jehovah in Habakkuk's vision, for the salvation of the poor.

But even if the ethical system of Jesus survived, whence could it derive the energy which it requires for its application? The influence of ideas is feeblener than we imagine. They may appeal to us as eternally true. They may entrance us by their unearthly beauty and yet be as powerless to change our conduct as our stature. The crest of the wave is not the moving impulse of the billow; the ideas that break in beauty over the mind are not the shaping forces of the soul. The mere thoughts of Jesus Christ cannot save the generations, splendid as they seem. It is not the sight of his face that lifts us from the trough of the sea. This may help to keep us afloat, but the strong arm of the deliverer must snatch us from the devouring flood. Now the pessimism of our age, whether of a philosopher like Schopenhauer or a dramatist like Ibsen, is rooted in the conviction that character is not transformable. This is the deadly skepticism. This is the ruin of hope. This is the denial of God. We are what we must be. The essence of man is what he eats and what his ancestors have eaten. To educate him you must begin with his grandparents and the like.

But Jesus Christ, with that wisdom which, as Mr. Romanes points out, prevents all conflicts with the discoveries of real science, met this difficulty with triumphant candor. "Yes, you are, without me, simply what you have inherited. The best of you and the worst of you must be born from above. You are not to be saved by your impulse, nor can you be saved by ideas; you must be saved by power, by the inflow of a diviner life." Ideas may regulate this new energy when it arrives; but ideas will not create it. Neither do ideas remove the hindrances to life. The poison of sin, the slavery of nature, the fear of men and of death, the tyranny of the multitude, the greed of the carnal mind—all these must perish in a divine combustion, and out of the flames must emerge a new creature in Christ Jesus.

The writer, for one, is ready to go with Ibsen and help blow up the world, if this deliverance is not within our reach. Paul thought it was. Jesus Christ delivered him from the body of death. Jesus Christ renewed him day by day. He was the source of courage, he was the replenishment of strength, he was the power of an endless life. This Jesus of Matthew and John and Paul is clothed with eternal and miraculous might. And this is the only Jesus that men ever worship. A teacher they might admire, thrilling to his utterances as one thrills to sublime music or the majestic murmur of the forest. A defeated and crucified enthusiast they might love and pity, bemoaning the wasted outpour of his precious being. But worship him they will not. The only Christ who can rule humanity must be at once the wisdom and power of God. For this age is writhing in the coils of the old misery; it stutters forth the old cry, "O wretched men that we are, who shall deliver us from the body of this death?" Only our age is more desperate than its predecessors. We are determined to know the worst and the best. Phantom theologies may have their little day. We may have, for a while, the Christ that wavers preached in the hazy splendor of uncertain imaginings. But we shall hear, and that right soon, the imperative command of an age fiercely in earnest, like the sharp voice of Cromwell to the preacher of his time, "Quit your fooling and come down!" Jesus of Nazareth was either a human creature like ourselves, or he was the miraculous inbreak of Almighty God into the common order of this world! Which of the two do you say that he was?

The coming century will never establish any nebulous pretender upon the throne of Jesus Christ. Men may chatter glibly about the Christ ideal, about the Messianic consciousness and the God-consciousness of Jesus. They will talk to the clouds. Democracy clamoring for a leader, humanity hungry for reality, yet bereft of hope and dignity by its discoveries, will push them aside with scoffs and blows. We are seeking, they will say, consolation and redemption. We might find them in a risen and a living Christ, but you are fools to mock us with your incantations over a handful of

Galilean dust! The revival of religion with which our century began was therefore a return to sanity. It would have been another form of madness but for the reality and divinity of the Lord of life and glory. The noblest spirits of our time have not been rainbow-chasers. Shaftesbury battling with the greed of English capitalists and the prejudice of English statesmen, Denison wasting away in the London slums, Livingstone hunting the lost sheep in the wilds of Africa, Gallaudet thinking out speech for the dumb, Fliedner with his ministries of mercy, Florence Nightingale aflame for righteousness and helpfulness, Frances Willard with her vision of the nobler home—these fought under the standard and in the presence of a Christ that stood, as Stephen saw him, at the right hand of God. For them, to live was Christ. They applied to him the one conclusive test. They followed him whithersoever he led. The one necessary requirement indispensable for apprehending him they had, the faith that works by love.

Knowledge, in the strictest sense, must be always for the few. Faith is for the many. One discovers; thousands can believe. The modern world is too busy for each man to examine the foundations of his creed. But in the modern world knowledge is power; the supreme test of truth is experiment. "Jesus lives," the first disciples said. "Silver and gold we have none, but, Crippled Humanity, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth stand up and walk!" "Jesus lives," we keep on saying. But where is our power? If he lives, the people answer, that can be tested easily. Bid the modern world rise up and walk!

Charles J. Little

ART. III.—THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS.

WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles the First, was condemned by an ordinance of Parliament, and suffered decapitation on Tower Hill on January 10, 1645. He met his doom with perfect composure and quiet dignity. His policy as a prelate had been characterized by reckless courage and the temerity with which he threw himself across the religious instincts of his time. He defended the extreme doctrines of the Stuart monarchy, and associated them with a type of churchmanship which proved to be, in the sequel, the precursor of the Oxford movement. The Laudian temper has been the bane of the Anglican Church from his day until now. This unhappy defect largely caused the ruin of the Establishment which followed his administration. In the eighteenth century it subserved the practical rejection of the evangelical revival, and during our own times its prevalence has enabled the temporary triumph of the followers of Pusey, Newman, and Froude.

The period immediately preceding the issue of *Tracts for the Times* did not promise any revival of those principles for which Laud had laid down his life. The two predominant schools of the "High Churchmen" and the "Evangelicals" were unsatisfactory in their hold upon the life of the State and of the universities. The High Churchmen were looked upon as teaching a mere morality, even at the best, and, at the worst, as allies and servants of an unfriendly world. The Evangelicals had insisted upon the beginnings of Christian teaching with so much fervor that they had neglected its higher development and, specifically, its ethics. The guarantees of faithfulness to doctrine were too often found in jealous suspicions and fierce bigotries. The religious world at large was too conventional; men were afraid of principles; they shrank from the suspicion of enthusiasm; their utterances were full of self-complacency. The great evangelists of the Church, the Wesleys and their coadjutors, beneath the direct guidance of God, had built up sister Churches whose progress

astonished the world, and whose existence was a standing contradiction of the basal claims of the parent body. A wave of political liberalism swept over Europe, and was strongly felt in England. During 1825-30 the orthodox political traditions of Anglicanism, as a State Church, underwent severe examination and incurred several defeats. Ten of the Irish episcopates were abolished, and the bishops of the English Church were sternly commanded by Earl Grey to set their house in order. This sudden onslaught greatly disconcerted the leaders of the Church. They, as a rule, were too half-hearted and too shallow to meet it with any vigor. The Evangelical party, whose theology and life had been profoundly affected by the Methodist revival, was now in the second or third generation, and had lost its strength and aim. In the controversies which followed the beginning of the Oxford movement the Evangelicals were no match for antagonists who were in deadly earnest, and who put them to shame by their zeal and courage. In the beginning of the century there was growing, slowly and out of sight, a type of manhood of rare culture and great gifts, destined to precipitate the impending reconstruction. In the ultimate, as we now see, the two schools—that founded in Cambridge by Maurice, Sterling, and other members of the Apostles' Club, and the one at Oxford, led by Newman, Pusey, and their associates—have reacted upon each other, and with gratifying results.

Let us now consider those names which have right to be mentioned in the Oxford movement, a movement which, notwithstanding its deterrents—and their name is legion—is the most remarkable religious event of the nineteenth century. John Keble, the son of a rural clergyman and a scholar, poet, and saint, was born at Fairford Rectory, Gloucestershire, in 1792. He left Oxford in 1823, carrying with him the greatest honors of the university. His retirement was voluntary and singularly unselfish; he felt himself bound to the work of the ministry, and for this end he cheerfully gave up the most brilliant prospects of an academic career. Keble was not intended, however, to be the leader of a far-reaching and revolutionary change. He mistrusted popular effort and excitement. His temper enabled him to forego preferment with ease, and even

pleasure. His "soul was like a star and dwelt apart" from the haunts of the throng. But he was peerless in his influence upon men for the molding of their characters and the inspiration of their purposes. Archbishop Whately's pupil, Newman, did not respond with more alacrity to his tutor's masterly guidance in the use of language than did the young men whom Keble controlled in their use of life. There were with him three Oxford students reading for their degree in the long vacation of 1823, Robert Wilberforce, Isaac Williams, and Richard Hurrell Froude. He won for all time the veneration and love of this little circle. But in Froude he won more, for Froude became Keble's disciple, taking all he had to communicate, and because of his highly tempered intellect and his determination he reacted on his master, carrying him forward to still bolder enterprises and becoming their champion and mouthpiece. Newman wrote of Keble: "He is the first man in Oxford. Isaac Williams tells us that a short walk with him and a few words spoken marked the turning point in his life." Hurrell Froude declared: "Where Keble was donnishness and humbug would be no more in college, nor the pride of talent, nor secular ambition." But, like all the Tractarians, Keble's willful ignorance of sister Churches bred even in his generous nature a profound dislike for what he calls "dissent." He shared the attitude of Newman, who once refused to marry an unbaptized woman; and this disposition has shown itself in so many unfortunate arrogances that it mitigates the usefulness of these men to the Church catholic. In it they were true children of William Laud.

The devotional poetry of Keble has been read the world over, and innumerable multitudes thank God for so precious a gift to the Churches. But who remembers Hugh James Rose? Yet he, more than Keble, gave shape and tendency to the earlier phases of the Oxford movement. Dean Burgon, in his *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, describes him as "the restorer of the old paths." He was young—forty-three years of age—when death overtook him, yet there is but one opinion concerning his success as a public teacher. Those who have bestowed attention on such matters will not be surprised that Hugh Rose's public reading of Scripture—an act which Hooker

in a famous place declares to be "preaching"—partook of a most weighty and impressive character. Says Burgon:

A very competent judge once assured me that his reading of the fifty-third of Isaiah in a village church in Sussex so affected him that, at the end of many years, he was able to recall his grand intonation and the solemnity with which he delivered those awful words. Something similar the same friend related to me concerning the way he had heard Mr. Rose read the parable of the Prodigal Son. . . . The subject of impressive reading having once cropped up in Exeter College common room (we were a small party sitting round the fire after dinner), I mentioned the substance of what immediately precedes, when one of the fellows (the Rev. Henry Low), to the surprise of us all, in the quaintest manner and with no little emotion thrust out his legs on the hearth rug and, with an ejaculation expressive of his entire assent to what I had been saying, broke out somewhat as follows: "Never heard him read but once, and shall never forget it as long as I live. It was the Ten Commandments. Never heard anything like it. Never!" . . . I remarked to the speaker that it is difficult to read the Ten Commandments with any special propriety, and asked him what it was that had so struck him. "O," exclaimed Low, "it was as if Mr. Rose had been personally commissioned to deliver the decalogue to the congregation!"

On July 25, 1833, Mr. Rose called together a number of clergymen to Hadleigh Rectory to consult upon the condition of the Church. There was a great fear that the re-created Parliament elected by the Reform bill would imperil her political privileges and prestige. The bishops were overwhelmed with pamphlets demanding change and the liberalizing of the institutions of Anglicanism. Four men were present at the Hadleigh conference, Rose and William Palmer being the leaders. Froude also was there, but Keble and Newman were both absent. The news of this gathering spread far and wide, and when controversy assumed a bitter tone it became customary to refer to it as the Hadleigh conspiracy. It is doubtful, however, if any direct result justified such an appellation. Rose died seven years later, after a long and wearying illness; had he lived he must have been reckoned with as one of the chiefs of the movement, utterly opposed to its later Romeward tendencies, and the one man in every way fitted to have prevented that disaster, could he have prevailed against the logic of the case.

Dean Church, in speaking of Richard Hurrell Froude,

likens him to Pascal. Certainly he was brilliant and possessed of unusual originality and clearness. His imaginative faculty was in itself rich, and continually exercised by a love of beauty he vainly endeavored to repress. Beneath his irony and wit ran a swift undercurrent of intense sadness and a deep, overwhelming yearning for the satisfaction of religious truth. His audacity both bewildered and shocked his opponents; at times it alarmed his friends; and his unsparing warfare reminds one of dashing Rupert of the Rhine, "who came but to conquer or to die." And Froude died, as did Rose, while he was yet young, cut short in a career of unusual strength and promise.

In 1828, when writing to a friend, Froude mourned over Newman's supposed liberalism and his subtle and speculative temper. In fact, at that time Newman had not accepted the high Anglican theology; he still retained a measure of allegiance to the Evangelicals, and Froude says, "I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic." However, the state of Newman's religious opinions rapidly matured, and it is well for us to remember that he who first gave shape, foundation, and consistency to the claims of "Catholic Anglicanism" was afterward their uncompromising enemy and ruthless destroyer. Ten years later, in 1838, Newman had become the champion of the extreme clerical party in the English Church and such an avowed foe of Romanism that it is small wonder his secession has proved a puzzle to so many. We quote a characteristic denunciation of Rome which he wrote but a short time before his lapse, and which could scarcely be excelled by the most ardent devotee of an Orange lodge:

If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances toward her as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. . . . Let us be sure that she is our enemy and will do us a mischief when she can. . . . We need not depart from Christian charity toward her. We must deal with her as we would toward a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate tender thoughts, with tearful regret and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye and a firm hand. For, in truth, she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to

use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, willful, malicious, cruel, unnatural as madmen are. Or rather she may be said to resemble a demoniac. . . . Thus she is her real self only in name; and, till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her.

For us who have not deserted the ancient and apostolical faith this is a wise and comprehensive description of the worst side of the papacy. But Newman had committed himself to a method of theological research and to a series of unhistorical ecclesiastical claims which, if practiced and followed, must find their logical sequence in the Roman hierarchy.

It is needless for one to argue at length upon the question of the "apostolical succession," save to point out the thoroughly inconsistent position of the English Church thereupon. She has been formally and officially excommunicated to the ranks of nonconformity by the present pope, and while upholding the Old Catholics of Germany in their protest against the Vatican decrees she denounces John Wesley and his followers for a similar protest against her own spiritual death. What, with her, is right in Germany is wrong in England, and, indeed, in all English-speaking nations. Dr. Döllinger was as much a dissenter as the founder of Methodism, but his conduct in repudiating Rome's authority seemed to the Anglicans a strengthening of their own peculiar position; and hence came their approval. That position may be likened unto Mohammed's coffin as touching its suspended attitude.

Our admiration for Newman should not hold judgment in bonds. A certain reverent wonder, due to his great gifts and sweetness of temper, has grown around the recluse at Edgbaston Oratory. The luster and grace of his style and his continual habit of delicate discrimination in the use of words are fascinating, yet perilous; for behind them lurks a vast and willful ignorance of the nobler developments of Christianity, as seen in the last four hundred years, and a steady attempt to redeliver the Church to the ceremonies she had escaped only by the most heroic efforts. The romances of Sir Walter Scott exercised a significant influence upon Newman and some of his associates. The necromancer's vivid imagination evolved a mediævalism before their eyes which, as Thackeray's satire has since reminded us, was very far from being a true

portrait of those times. But, with them, poetry supplanted facts, and especially so since it seconded their efforts for a return to the Church of the former days. Newman's impatience with modern thought, his scorn, to use no harsher word, for the purest and best-equipped Christianity of his own surroundings, his contempt for the scientific methods of sacred study, his efforts to limit the soul's appropriation of the life which is in Christ to the delegated authority of a priestly hierarchy—these characteristics stain all his theology and make it untrustworthy. He discussed the controversy with an acuteness of the greatest service to those his arguments fail to convince. That he will increase as a literary light seems as sure as that he will decrease as a theological doctor. He fought against the stars in their courses, and small wonder is it that where he most hoped to win he should have lost. Stanley describes an interview with him in 1864:

What was the upshot of the whole? It left the impression, not of unhappiness or dissatisfaction, but of a totally wasted life; unable to read, glancing at questions which he could not handle, rejoicing in the caution of the court at Rome, which had kept open question after question that he enumerated as having been brought before it; also, although without the old bitterness, still the ancient piteous cry, "O my mother! why dost thou leave us all day idle in the market place?" Studiously courteous, studiously calm.

But the outcome of these ecclesiastical pretensions to which Newman had surrendered his very life with passionate ardor went beyond his power to follow, and he did not receive their last proclamation. The Vatican Council was his nightmare, and the decree of the papal infallibility provoked his passive resistance. Hence in Pius IX's court—thanks to the adroit political maneuvering of Manning—he was an object of suspicion, treated with coldness and neglect, misrepresented and assailed with vituperation and with scorn. The scene reminds one of Samson bound in the house of the Philistines, its one redemption being the magnificent spirit Newman never failed to manifest. For in him there was a light of the other world, ever shining and disclosing itself in every tone and look. With the accession of the present pontiff his enemies were silenced and chained, and he received the cardinal-

ate ; but this honor was not bestowed until Manning had done his worst—and that was bad—to prevent it.

In retrospect one is saddened by the reflection that a great work in constructive theology could have been accomplished by such men as we have named. For it they were eminently fitted, because of natural gifts of the highest order. Some of them, notably Pusey, were scholars with large resources. All possessed that culture which has made the Oxford school—of which the late Matthew Arnold, Lord Justice Bowen, and others were notable examples—to be widely known and appreciated. If a correct estimate of their great powers of usefulness had been secured and acted upon the natural world and its sanctity might have been vindicated, the limits within which ecclesiastical parties confine the exclusive operations of spiritual influences could have been broken down, the deep basis of morality upon which all true theology rests could have been shown forth, and a readjustment of our conception of the unchanging facts of the Gospel of God might have been attempted. But to Oxford's sister and rival, Cambridge, English-speaking men have had to turn for the methods of historical science and the law of historical development applied to the Christian faith with a reverent and yet fearless instinct which rightly guards the great interests at stake. Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, and their compeers have done much to wipe out the reproach of earlier failures, and in nothing is this more shown than in the recent commingling of the two schools of Oxford and Cambridge as seen in Canon Gore and men like him, whose high churchmanship is moderated by an active humanism and an acceptance of the assured facts of loving toil and patient investigation in the sacred studies.

In this brief review Richard William Church, Dean of St. Paul's, stands like a rock in a morass. An Oxford man, the dearest friend Newman had after he had severed so many friendships, and his constant friend to the end, Church is worthy of mention, since in the surging controversies of fifty years he never lost his balance. Indomitable love of truth, sincerity, humility, patience, and goodness—these formed the ethical soil in which his soul was rooted. When others of a lesser mold surrendered hope and left the field—some for

Rome, as did Newman, others for agnosticism, as did Newman's brother, some for weary indifference—Church abated not a jot of heart or hope. Unlike Newman, he combined in a rare degree the historical and critical faculties. His essay on Dante, his volumes on Anselm and Bacon, and his work, *The Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, are ample evidences of a powerful and highly trained mind, of a style at once dignified and attractive, and of a rich moral sense and balance which are as welcome to the reader as water to a parched field. His saintliness and self-abnegation, indeed, his whole life, diffused a subtle fragrance which has gladdened many whose eye did not pierce the secluded retreat where he hid from the gaze of men. "Dean Church," said John Morley to W. T. Stead, "is the consummate flower of the Christian culture of England that is passing away. We shall never look upon his like again. He is the finest and last type of the Oxford of the past. Our universities, with their examinations and their modern spirit, bear other fruit."

Edward Bouverie Pusey was, in many respects, the opposite of Dean Church. He was a lonely man, much misunderstood, and causing much of the misunderstanding by his lack of perception and his signal failure to realize an opponent's view. He provoked what he despised, the controversial and partisan spirit, and effectually condemned the ecclesiastical theory he held by the principles he derived from it. We cannot be blind to the loftiness of his character, nor can we be blind to those greater interests beyond the claims of any individual saint, interests which he continually imperiled, the interests of unity and peace. These he sincerely avowed but practically destroyed. Pusey's rallying place is an unacceptable ground of barren differences, and it has been for others of his Church to point out the meeting point for the deeper unity of the Spirit under the headship of Christ our Lord.

Such were some of the men who led this remarkable and many-sided revival. Their chief rebukers were of their own body. Charles Kingsley assailed the morality of the Roman priesthood after Newman's secession, and the *Apology* was a wonderful answer to the sincere questionings of Kingsley's honest but prejudiced judgments. Pusey and Liddon refused

Dean Stanley's invitation to preach in the Abbey because Maurice, "that spiritual splendor," was allowed there. Liddon forgot his due reverence for episcopal authority, and spoke of Archbishop Tait, not as a clergyman at all, but only as a shrewd Scotch lawyer. Arnold and Keble were severed in their friendship, and Newman forsook all men count dear; and with fortitude we reverence, however much we deplore the causes of his misunderstanding, he lifted up his destructive hand against the house of his birth and the home in which his divine life had been first received and nourished.

What, then, are the deterrents of which mention was made earlier? They evidently served to divide the Anglican house against itself. And, first, as to excessive ritual, that was the least of them, although empirical investigation has at times asserted it to be the chief offense. To the Tractarian leaders ritual was secondary. It borrowed its importance from the teachings it was intended to set forth. Its genesis is a curious story, in which pagan rites and legendary ceremonies and stately functions of the Renaissance are interwoven with the simplicity of the Christian sacraments and the dignified order of divine worship. The more sanguine temper of the Latin races eagerly seized upon these excrescences as an outlet for devotion. The colder, more intellectual life of the Northern races, awakening to renewed activity in the loftier ideals of the Reformation, viewed them with distaste, and even hate, in the extreme Puritan party. But it should be observed that the spirit of individualism in Protestantism has wrought havoc in the direction of excessive speculation, sometimes to the elimination of the authoritative and regulative element of all Christian doctrine and observances. The late Master of Balliol, Dr. Jowett, to whom the principles of the Oxford movement were repugnant, reactionary, and paltry, ended life practically a deist and little more. His faith had been too much "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;" and we submit that candles and incense and lustrations and habiliments—though they are in excess the beggarly elements of this world which defraud our praise and devotion of the deeper note, though they do beset and hinder the development of healthy religion—are not as grave a danger to the

faith as the denial of the godhead of our Lord. The crowd of smaller souls in Anglicanism has exaggerated the province of ritual. They have lost the sense of proportion; in them, as in their leaders, the Laudian temper—it is worthy of no better name—has run riot. And this is so true that now, but for the bond of State patronage, there would probably be a schism in the English Episcopal Church.

A greater deterrent is the attempt to identify the falsely claimed "National Church" of England with the acceptance of things impossible of belief among the majority of Englishmen. Above the Tweed an Anglican is as much a non-conformist as a Baptist, for Presbyterianism is the State-established religion of Scotland. In England itself the Anglican Church does not represent, upon the most liberal estimate, more than one half the population. The claim of the Anglicans is a legal figment unsupported by the greater number of those to whom it is applied. Their Church is national in the meaning produced by former times, when Church and State were one confluent stream and the "divine right" of kings and bishops stood and fell together. Grotesque as it may appear, the Book of Common Prayer is also an act of Parliament, and the nomination of bishops is in the gift of the crown, which really means that they are nominated by the elected representatives of the people. As we have seen, one of the chief causes of the Oxford movement was an overweening anxiety to defend the monetary and political interests involved—so involved because of the grip of the dead past upon the present government of Britain. Every measure of reform which gave a glimpse of light to millions of the worthiest sons of England was viewed by some Oxfordians with fierce resentment, and liberal measures—even those intended to answer the original aims of "pious founders"—had their chief resistance from the "shepherds" of the people. It is sufficient to add that the relations of the State and Anglicanism are a most inglorious history, against which the followers of the Oxford movement sometimes spoke with the heat of displeasure, though their testimony has not led their children to break the bondage. It is contrary to the spirit of our race that hierarchical claims should be admitted, for, apart from

their unscriptural nature, they have in the past undermined the fabric of freedom; and we know from bitter experiences that what begins in theological statement ends in a political despotism and a very practical tyranny.

Only a word is necessary upon the greatest deterrent of all, namely, the method of the soul's appropriation of the life which is in Jesus Christ our Lord. Not the sacramentarian, nor the legal, but the faith method, is yet the great distinguishing belief of Protestant churchmen; and against this bulwark the tide of extreme ritual and sacramentarianism has broken in the beginnings of its defeat. When Professor Banks, of Wesleyan College, Leeds, stated that the high-water mark had been reached, and the tide was receding, his words were denied, but they were nevertheless true.

And shall we not believe that out of this chaos and strife there will ensue a great and permanent benefit to the whole body of Christ? The Oxford movement has promoted genuine saintliness and popularized religion. It has crowded empty churches and founded innumerable aids for the betterment of life and the relief of the poor. It exists, and its work gains way, not because of its deterrents, but despite them; and it finds its strength in the life flowing out from God in Christ to all believers. A just and lawful doctrine of the Church has been established and maintained. Hymnology has been enriched; and worship no longer regards coldness, and even outward irreverence, as the measure of its acceptance with God. The negative position of the Free Churches has been obliterated, and their claims to recognition and unity are best evidenced by the gradual elimination of those purely theological barriers which defeated the highest hopes of the Reformation. After centuries of intestine warfare a catechism of these Free Churches is now issued in England, stating those fundamental truths the Evangelicals assuredly hold. And the forward movement of Methodism owes much of its aggressive and evangelizing temper to the Oxford movement.

S. Parkes Cadman.

ART. IV.—AN IDEALIST'S PRESCRIPTION FOR MODERN MATERIALISM.

AFTER sixteen years Professor Bowne, who has earned the right to be heard on all philosophical questions, presents us with a thoroughly revised edition of his *Metaphysics*. The new book is smaller than the old. There have been some omissions and extensive additions of great value; the compression has been chiefly accomplished, however, by the transfer of psychological and epistemological matter to the author's recently published *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*. The argument is rigidly metaphysical throughout, the idealism of the treatise being sustained by criticism of the object of knowledge and our necessary thought about it, and not by psychological analysis of the process of perception. A close comparison of the revised with the old edition justifies the claim of the author that the metaphysical position is more systematically set forth, with a greater wealth of detail, and unfolded into more minute and far-reaching inferences and applications. At the same time the general doctrine remains unchanged. Greater emphasis has been laid on the idealistic element, which is much more profoundly and consistently developed. If the critics were offended at his idealism before, they have a much more pronounced case to deal with now. In his basal positions, however, Professor Bowne remains essentially an independent disciple of Hermann Lotze, whose system is perhaps best described as that of objective idealism or idealistic realism—terms which we presume Professor Bowne would not reject as adequately characterizing his own general position. He has thoroughly rethought the fundamental principles, and has extended their critical application to Herbert Spencer's philosophy and other British forms of scientific thought and speculation ignored by Lotze. Professor Bowne is the last man in the world to appeal to authority, and his thinking everywhere stands in its own right.

With the principles of this philosophy and the methods of its presentation the writer of this paper is in thorough accord; he trusts that it will not be unpardonable if he devotes more

space to particular criticism than to general exposition. Before entering upon the consideration of Professor Bowne's subject-matter, however, we desire to offer a few remarks concerning his style. For purely philosophical purposes it is well-nigh perfect. It is sun-clear exposition; that is, sun-clear for a professional philosopher. The argumentation is continuous. There are only four or five very brief quotations in this large volume, and not a single footnote or reference. Moreover, as intimated above, it is metaphysics from start to finish, the aid of even empirical psychology being refused—as, indeed, the author's plan required. There are occasional passages concerning which formal notice is given that they are a pedagogical condescension to the unpracticed reader. But even an expert metaphysician would not dare to omit these if he desired to hold the complete argument in mind. Indeed, Professor Bowne has deceived himself at this point, for the form of his argumentation is determined by the consistency of his uniform method of defining and solving his problems rather than by any rights of comprehension supposed to belong to the average reader, who may justly lodge a complaint on this score. As continuously sustained argumentation Professor Bowne's book is very remarkable. There is not a parallel among American philosophical writers—certainly not in Professor James, hardly in Professor Ladd.

Another feature is the clean decapitation of an opponent with the keen blade of single-stroke sarcasm. It is generally both deserved and decisive; but the crushing, if not cruel, operation is repeated too frequently to be attractive to the disinterested spectator, much less to the victim and his friends. We do not offer this criticism with the hope of provoking amendment. Having been a diligent and profited reader of Professor Bowne from the date of the appearance of his first book, we know that this feature—trick, some might call it—of thought and style is part of the man, and that, with the best intentions, he could not write otherwise. But we draw attention to it, as well as to the severe and exclusive metaphysics of the argument, for a purpose which will immediately appear.

In our day there is no work more needful to be skillfully

and thoroughly done than the rescue of a large class of intelligent and educated people—physicians, scientists, and others, readers of Spencer and Huxley and Tyndall and Darwin—from a crude and crass materialism which saturates all their thought and, in some instances, degrades their lives. Nor do we know of any man better equipped for this task than Professor Bowne. But it is perfectly clear that he will win no disciples for the truth from this class of readers; first, because he does not take the smallest pains to propitiate and attract them; and, secondly, because not one in a thousand of them could understand him if he did. We do not know where a neater, more decisive refutation of the ambitious Spencerian philosophy, as it wrecks itself on the problem of error, so beautifully solved by our author, is to be found than in Professor Bowne's treatise.* We find an analysis of it, made on the margin of the old edition when we read it a second time, more than eight years ago, and it came upon us with freshness and resistless force in the new. But the "ghost of Leibnitz," which Professor Bowne discovers lurking behind the ponderous phrases of Spencerianism, would frighten the average scientific reader out of his wits, and for protection he would but cling the more closely to his beloved and intelligible Spencer. We know the partly cogent answer to all this would be that the ends sought are purely scholastic and professional. But life is too short and the world too wide for a man like Professor Bowne to afford to be scholastic and professional; besides, it is not clear that these very laudable, if narrow, ends are incompatible with the broader ones we have indicated. Most surely some one must be found to do the work of redeeming our current science from the dreary and bitter bondage of materialism; and that work must be wisely and kindly done, with tender condescension, if need be, to the materialist's standpoint and methods.

Without losing sight of this *desideratum* we turn from manner to matter. That the ground of the world-process is objective, spiritual, personal, and that apart from minds phenomena could have no existence, are elements alike of sound Lotzean and of sound Berkeleyan doctrine. Professor Bowne

* Old edition, pp. 329-330; new edition, pp. 321-330.

at times emphasizes his dissent from Bishop Berkeley—more, we think, in the old edition than the new; but to our way of thinking Berkeley and Lotze reach essentially the same objective idealism by different routes. They approach the same object and land at the same destination from opposite directions. Berkeley, by analysis of the process of perception, reveals the subjective sensation of objective origin—its manifestation permeated by law of which there is no subjective control—which by rational construction becomes knowledge; Lotze and Bowne, by solution of the problem of the causality involved in change and the universal connection of things according to law, reduce matter to phenomenal reality and find its existence in the energizing of the Infinite and its locus in human consciousness. Berkeley's doctrine is psychological; Lotze's and Bowne's metaphysical. But they are essentially complementary, not contradictory. One starts from minds and the other from things, but both alike reach the phenomenality of matter and the true ontological reality of spirit. The Lotzean doctrine naturally emphasizes the ceaseless energizing of the Infinite according to law, while the Berkeleyan doctrine just as naturally emphasizes conscious percipiency of the phenomena thus projected within the sphere of intelligence; but both alike and in perfect harmony deny the existence of phenomenal reality apart from mind. Berkeley is thus subjective and psychological, while Lotze is objective and ontological; but united they afford the broadest and deepest basis for idealistic realism. It is doubtless true that Berkeley has not put the emphasis as decidedly upon the universal and unchanging elements of experience as has Lotze; certainly he has not done it with the vigor and vividness with which Professor Bowne performs this task in his *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*. But, even if this truth is relatively obscure in Berkeley, his subjective view-point is sufficiently explanatory of it, and Lotze's objective view-point supplies most naturally the exact correction which it needs.

This is perhaps not far from Professor Bowne's conception of the relation of the two philosophers. But, as we see it, it is high time for philosophy to enter upon its constructive and universalizing stage. Instead of emphasizing insignificant

differences—especially when their source is sufficiently evident—it is the business of modern philosophy to search for essential identities, and to rejoice over them as over great spoil. We do not question the rigidly scientific accuracy of Professor Bowne's method in constantly finding the ultimate explanation of phenomena in their metaphysical causes, in passing from the inductive to the productive plane and from phenomenal reality to ontological reality as its only sufficient ground. He was writing a treatise on metaphysics. But, as our author more than once acknowledges, these purely metaphysical arguments are dreary stretches for even the well-equipped reader—hardly less fatiguing, indeed, to the conscientious student than to the able and laborious professor whose persistent pen nobly accomplished the self-imposed task of first putting these profound reasonings upon paper. But what are they for the unprofessional reader, and how can the average scientific gentleman be induced to read them? We do not hesitate to say that, taken in their metaphysical nakedness, without an empirical shred to clothe their shivering forms, they are often, to such a reader, not only unconvincing but unintelligible.

If such a book as we have described above is to be written as a breakwater against the flood of materialism that is inundating the modern scientific world, it must make the approach from the more obvious but equally true psychological side, as well as from the profounder metaphysical side; and the distinct effort must be deliberately put forth to dissipate the ordinary scientific prejudices and superstitions, and to make connections with the average scientific ways of looking at things. Now, such a historian of philosophy as Albert Weber has recognized the analysis of Berkeley as the only antidote that can be successfully opposed to materialism, and such a scientist as Huxley has conceded the impregnability of Berkeley's position. But Berkeley and Lotze in their different ways reach scarcely distinguishable conclusions, and it thus becomes pedagogically expedient—or, as we should say in theology, apologetically expedient—to unite rather than divide them; to treat Berkeley as the psychological complement of Lotze, and Lotze as the metaphysical complement of Berkeley, and thus build on the broadest and deepest foundations the wall

that shall withstand the oncoming assault of a deadly materialism, fatal alike to knowledge, to morals, and to religion. The psychological analysis of the process of perception is much more simple and more immediately convincing than the metaphysical proof of the merely phenomenal reality of things. If the materialist is to be convinced and converted we believe this is the natural avenue of approach, as it certainly is the natural, if not necessary, introduction to the metaphysical argument. But, psychology and metaphysics united, the harmonized conclusions of Berkeley and Lotze are invincible; and thus are the weapons formed to our hand for the achievement of a victory for which the whole modern world "groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."

Professor Bowne is perfectly definite and clear on the merely phenomenal reality of things and on the ontological existence of the Infinite; we are not sure but that he leaves the human spirit at some impossible halfway place. Of the finite, two conceptions are allowed to be possible. It may be either a form of energizing on the part of the Infinite, or it may be a real creation. In the first case its existence is phenomenal; in the second, it would seem, ontological. In neither case can the finite be identified with the Infinite, and pantheism is excluded. The decision between the two views is reached on the basis of the facts of experience. If any finite being exists capable of acting from itself and for itself, it has in that fact the certain test and mark of reality as distinguished from phenomenality. This mark occurs only in human spirits or persons. If it be asked why the Infinite may not "posit" or create impersonal as well as personal agents, the answer is that identity and causality are found only in the personal, while analysis reveals that the impersonal has not even subjectivity and is simply the phenomenal process of an energy not its own. Hence, while things are but the energizing of the Infinite, persons are created, posited—not made out of some preexisting material, but caused to be. This distinction, on the general basis of Lotzean metaphysics, seems clear and satisfactory. Persons possess "ontological otherness to the Infinite." They seem to be lifted out of the order of inductive into that of productive causality, out of the category of phenomenal conditions of results into that

of real causes. So Professor Bowne's chapter on "Soul and Body" begins with the declaration that the soul abides, acts, and is acted upon, and hence possesses the essential marks of ontological reality. There are also passages in which Professor Bowne seriously objects to the view of nature as a closed system, and insists that man by his free and real agency projects results into the natural series which nature could never have reached independently. This free causality of man in nature which produces its results, not by the disruption of law and continuity, but by the knowledge of law and obedience to it, is used as a help to a proper understanding of the like free and causal relation of the Creator to the world.

But, when the problem of the interaction of soul and body is reached, the soul is forthwith reduced to the same level of phenomenality with the body itself. The causality between them is said to work both ways. Causality here evidently means, not productive, but inductive causality; a volition secures a "concomitant variation" of the body with a state of the soul, while a sensation secures a "concomitant variation" of the soul with a state of the body. Without this concomitant variation, which is all the interaction there is, there would ensue hopeless confusion of both knowledge and action, for the same stimulus might produce different sensations and the same volitions result in different actions. Thus the interaction between the "ontologically real" personal spirit and the phenomenal body is precisely like, and belongs to the same order with the interaction between two impersonal and merely phenomenal things.

We are not unaware of the nature of the necessary, and possibly satisfying, correction of all this, namely, that the soul has free causal control of its own states and thus, though the mental series runs along independently of the physical series, its parallelism is not maintained solely by concomitant variation with the bodily state, but its own independent initiative interpolates personal and volitional members in the mental series, with which the body must in turn preserve its parallelism by responding with the appropriate concomitant variation. This explanation, though it results from the general principles of Lotzeanism, is nowhere formally stated, so far as we now re-

call,* in Professor Bowne's treatise. His doctrine would have been a great deal clearer and more consistent had he been explicit on this point; but, in his positive discussion of the interaction of soul and body, where we should have expected considerable emphasis on the free causal states volitionally interpolated in the mental series, to which the body must respond in its own parallelism, we have only the repetition of the bald statement that the concomitance is the only interaction there is and that its determining ground must be sought in the plan and agency of the Infinite. The plan and agency of the Infinite as the determining ground of the concomitancy apparently exclude the plan and agency of the human spirit as a determining ground; if so, the teaching seems to us to be positively erroneous, and goes far toward the explanation of an important defect in Professor Bowne's philosophy, to which we shall at once advert.

What we are now concerned with is something of much deeper import than the interaction of soul and body, though immediately connected with that fact. It turns out that Professor Bowne's "ontological reality" of the human spirit still leaves it floundering helplessly in the same class with things. It has escaped phenomenality by the skin of its teeth, if it has escaped. Its interaction appears to be on his account wholly phenomenal, and we strongly suspect that in this region is to be found the ground of Professor Bowne's inability or unwillingness to deal with a metaphysical problem more urgently demanding solution than any which his brilliant analysis has so successfully vanquished. We hasten to add that we are not prepared to enter into a contract to specify offhand the elements or even minutely to define the necessary limits of the solution. In his old edition Professor Bowne declared that every speculator is obliged by good taste and good faith to accept the existence of other persons like himself. But he immediately proceeds to show that there is no sound metaphysical warrant in his system for this conclusion. Since the Infinite mediates all interactions of the finite, including persons, all our states or affections are directly from the Infinite. These states of ours being given in their present variety and order,

* The volume has no index.

we construct a world of persons on the same principles we use in constructing a world of things. If the world of persons should disappear, then we should continue to have the same apparent interaction with persons, provided the Infinite had any interest in continuing to produce in us the appropriate states, and there would be no metaphysical method of detecting the deception. According to Professor Bowne, the true reason for admitting the existence of persons other than ourselves is found neither in psychology nor in metaphysics, but only in ethics. But the new edition contains no such declaration as this. So far as a careful reading has revealed, the problem is not stated and its solution appears to be wholly declined. Thinking that the discussion might have been transferred to the *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, we turned to that volume—which is also without an index—but the only allusion we could discover is the assertion that the idealism founded on analysis of the knowing process alone necessarily falls into solipsism. The implication is that the idealism founded on the metaphysics of the object of knowledge does not lapse into solipsism or solitary egoism. This implication, as well as the omission of the ethical solution propounded in the earlier edition, involves the renunciation of the old view; but if Professor Bowne has substituted a metaphysical solution of this most urgent problem in his system we have failed to note it.

In October, 1882, Professor J. P. Gordy published in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* a luminous and sympathetic exposition and review of the first edition of Bowne's *Metaphysics*, at the close of which he appended a number of criticisms which, with a single exception, seem to us to have no force or relevancy. It involves a fatal inconsistency in Professor Bowne's philosophy, if we assume the existence of other persons on ethical grounds, and not because their existence explains certain otherwise inexplicable phenomena of our consciousness. As a matter of fact Professor Bowne, in his earlier edition, squarely admits that their existence is not necessary to furnish this explanation. To hold to the existence of other persons thus involves the sacrifice of the fundamental principle of the system that the essence of being is

action, that being and action are inseparable, that to be is to act, and that the inactive is the nonexistent. That which does nothing, produces no phenomena in our consciousness, is nothing for us. The alternative is plain. Either the whole system must be given up as untrue, because it leads to the bottomless absurdity of solipsism, or the ontological reality which is granted to persons involves an essentially different interaction of persons with other persons—and hence certainly with the body, and, indeed, with the whole physical system, at least indirectly, so far as it may be necessary to the accomplishment of this end—from that interaction which suffices to bind things together in an orderly whole. For us long study of Lotze and Bowne, as well as some familiarity with the general course of philosophy, has made the first branch of the alternative impossible; there is nothing for it but to adopt the second.

If the concession of ontological reality to persons is more than verbal it must be identical in kind, though of course not in degree, with the ontological reality of the Infinite; and, apart from the orderly energizing of the Infinite according to law which constitutes the constant world of things, they—God and man—must sustain similar relations to that world of things existing in its orderliness. Man, within the limits of his dependence on the Infinite, must be truly a creative first cause whose orderly intelligence and efficient will produce otherwise nonexistent phenomena first in his own body, phenomenal like other matter though it be, next in the fixed and actual order of the external phenomenal world, and finally in the consciousness of his fellows, through the mediation of their bodies—thus, finally certifying to them his existence as a rational and causal being, that is, a person. When a rational person like Professor Bowne, for example, writes a book—a treatise on metaphysics, let us say—he conveys to a reader of that book—to the writer of this paper it may be—not only a phenomenal manifestation of the thinghood of the book in the black characters upon the paper, but a rational manifestation of his personality, because the phenomena are the bearers of a message, invisible, indeed, but with a meaning in it which evinces the very organism of reason itself. Of this mes-

sage neither the world nor the Infinite is the author, but Professor Bowne, without whose agency it could never have projected itself into our consciousness. Within that orderly and rational sphere of phenomenal manifestation which we call the universe, as summing up the many in the one, and as the ceaseless energizing of the Infinite according to law, there are smaller but definitely marked circles of phenomenal manifestation—as architecture, manufactures, spoken and written language—which harmonize, indeed, with the whole of which they form a part, but which evince also in themselves an independent organism of reason and a source of power or efficiency directed by reason; and at the center of each of these minor circles there is a person, a human spirit. “No man hath seen God at any time,” nor hath any man looked upon his fellow. But the evidence for the existence of man, as we must put it in this connection, is of the same kind and, as far as we can see, of the same cogency of the evidence for the existence of God. As against the atheist and materialist we must add that the argument for the existence of God is of the same kind and the same cogency as the argument for the existence of man.

It is hardly possible to specify further within the space at our disposal the elements of the solution of the problem of finite personality, or even to unfold all its difficulties, some of which might give us serious trouble. Nor have we meant to feign an insight we do not possess. All we have undertaken is to indicate the broad outlines, both of the problem and of its solution. We cannot close this paper, however, without expressing our lasting obligations to Professor Bowne for his light and leading these many years; and this imperfect paper may end with the modest concluding sentence of his latest book, “So it seems to me; and I have set it down in the hope that so it may seem to others also.”

Bro. J. Tigert.

ART. V.—LAO-TSZE AND HIS SYSTEM—A STUDY IN
CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

NOTHING can be much more contemptible than the childish faith in charms, elixirs, exorcisms, magic arts, dreams of alchemy, and other superstitious follies held by the Chinese Táoists. Yet they pretend to trace their origin to one of the deepest and most spiritual thinkers of the human race. This man, Láo-tsze, is an extremely noteworthy and significant phenomenon. Neither comparative philosophy nor comparative theology can pass him by. It is not too much to say, with Strauss and Torney, that, outside the great stream of revealed truth which took its rise with Abraham, no ancient system surpasses his in sublimity and depth of the knowledge of God, or in inwardness and ethical earnestness.

As to his life little is known. In this he is widely contrasted with Confucius. Of all that befell this revered sage of China we have minute accounts. We are taken into his study, his dining room, even into his bedchamber. His appearance is as familiar to us as that of Socrates or Shakespeare. We know how he dressed, how he acted at funerals, how he behaved to his superiors and inferiors, how he gave and received presents, how he conducted himself in thunderstorms, and what he ate with his rice. But no such intimacy is allowed us with Láo-tsze. Legend has, of course, been busy with his memory. As if anxious not to be outdone by the Buddhists in their exaltation of Sakya-muni, Táoist writers declare Láo-tsze to have been a great spiritual being, the embodiment of Táo, dwelling in an abode of matchless purity; without beginning and without cause; the ancestor of the original breath; without light, form, sound, voice; the basis of the fruitful earth and of the shining heaven, having neither ancestors nor descendants; so ruling heaven and earth as to bring about in stupendous cycles the production and decay of all created forms. Before his coming into this soiled and wretched world as Láo-tsze he had been incarnate no less than eleven times. Other legend peddlers state that his mother at the sight of a falling star conceived him without a father; that he was not born, however, until

eighty-one years later; that at birth he looked like an old man with gray hair, and was hence called "old boy;" that with his first breath he had power of speech and was very wise; that, after pointing to the plum tree under which he was born, he said, "'Le' [plum] shall be my surname;" that then he rose into the air and, pointing with his right hand to earth and with his left to heaven, exclaimed, "In heaven above and on earth beneath Táo alone is worthy of honor."

But, clearing away this tangled thicket of fable, all agree that he was an older contemporary of Confucius. The date of his birth is 604 B. C., not long before Sakya-muni first saw the light in Kapilavastu, while Josiah was king over Israel, while Solon flourished in Greece, and a hundred years before the authentic history of Rome begins. It was a dismal epoch in China. Imperial power had declined. The dynasty of Chou was tottering to its fall. The great feudal princes had swallowed up the less. Husbandry was neglected, the peace of households destroyed; disorder, lust, pillage, violence, were rampant. The father of Láo-tsze was a peasant, who at seventy had married a woman little more than half his age. His native village bore a name which signified "oppressed benevolence," in the parish of "Cruelty," in the district of "Bitterness," in the State of "Suffering." His name, meaning "ear," and his posthumous title, "flat-eared," together with the tradition that his ears were of extraordinary size and each pierced by three passages, would indicate some peculiarity in that organ. Of his boyhood and early manhood we know nothing. We find him in later life holding the office of keeper of archives at the imperial court. It is probable that during this period, "like another Aristotle, Confucius visited this Chinese Socrates." Láo-tsze was then eighty-eight and Confucius thirty-five. It is said that the younger sage poured his pitiful tale of woe into the ears of the old philosopher. But Láo-tsze rebuked the reforming zeal of his visitor with the words, "If it be known that he who talks errs by excess in arguing, and that he who hears is confused by too much talk, the way can never be forgotten." When Confucius warmly expressed his admiration for the ancients Láo-tsze, apparently in a mocking mood, replied like a cynical recluse:

The men of whom you speak, sir, have with their bones already mouldered into dust, and only their words remain. Moreover, if the superior man gets his opportunity he mounts his car and takes office; and, if he does not get his opportunity, he goes through life like a wisp of straw rolling over sand. I have heard that a good merchant who has his treasure house well stored appears devoid of resources, and that the superior man of perfect excellence has an outward semblance of stupidity. Put away, sir, your haughty airs and many desires, your flashy manner and extravagant will; these are all unprofitable unto you. This is all I have to say to you.

In spite of this cynical mood and these mocking reproaches of the venerable sage Confucius appears to have been profoundly impressed, and said to his disciples:

I know how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how beasts can run. The runner, however, may be snared, the swimmer may be hooked, and the flyer may be shot with the arrow. But there is the dragon. I cannot tell you how he mounts on the wing through the clouds and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Láo-tsze, and can only compare him to the dragon.

After this, foreseeing the inevitable downfall of the imperial house—a fact to which Confucius was apparently blind—Láo-tsze resigned his office, left the court, and went into retirement to muse in solitude upon immaterial things. As he was passing out the keeper of the gate said to him, “If the master will go away, will he not for my sake write a book?” To gratify him Láo-tsze composed a work in two parts, setting forth his views of Tào and virtue. Then he went away. Where he lived after this; what he did; how, of what disease, when and where he died, no one knows.

The work said to have been composed at the request of the guardian of the pass and put into his hand by Láo-tsze, when the sage was about to enter upon his mysterious journey, contains the results of Láo-tsze's long years of meditation. It is called the *Tào-teh-King*. The best scholars defend its genuineness. Though Táoist writers ascribe to him nine hundred and thirty of the current works on the superstitious follies of modern Táoism, the *Tào-teh-King* is the only book really from his hand. It is a short work of only five thousand characters, about twice as long as the Sermon on the Mount. Owing to its condensed style, however, in a good English translation it

would be much longer. It is a monument of the extraordinary mental power and penetration of its author, and shows him to be infinitely higher than the mass of his contemporaries and vastly superior to the greatest of his disciples. Though the book is so brief it is very difficult to analyze and interpret. Láo-tsze himself felt that his words were not comprehended. He said, "Those who understand me are few." This is true to-day. The subjects treated are hard to elucidate, and the style is heavy, compressed, paradoxical, rich in imagery. As Waters remarks, "Láo-tsze, like all other philosophers who live and write in the infancy of a literary language, had only a very imperfect medium through which to communicate his doctrines." Douglas thinks that these short sentences were but the texts of the sermons which were preached by the old philosopher to his disciples. Then we know so little of the circumstances to which he alludes, and are so far in all respects from the spirit of the age in which he wrote, that the sense often eludes us. Even the Chinese commentators are hardly able to descend into his depths or to follow him in his lofty flight; and even our best translations do not escape the danger of putting into the mouth of the venerable sage all kinds of speculations found in modern theosophy, with which no doubt he was in sympathy. Some earlier scholars have seen in the words of the "old philosopher" only the atrabilious utterances of a misanthrope who advocated ascetic seclusion from the cares and turmoils of the world and even from its sights and sounds. Others declare that he did not himself know what he was saying, while the Roman Catholic missionaries of the last century read in his words anticipations of some of the great truths of the Gospel. Montucci, for example, writing in 1808, declared that many things about the triune God are so clearly expressed in it that no one who has read this book can doubt that the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity was revealed to the Chinese five centuries before the coming of Christ. Father Amiot, going still further, declared that he had found a passage which distinctly enunciates the three persons of the Trinity. He rendered it, "He who is as it were visible and cannot be seen is called 'Khí' or 'I,' he whom we cannot hear and who does not

speak to the ears is called 'Ibi;' he who is as it were tangible, but whom we cannot touch, is called 'Wei.'" Remusat, perhaps the best Chinese scholar of his day, startled all Europe when he elaborately tried to prove that these three characters "I," "Ibî," and "Wei" were really the Hebrew word "Jehovah" that must have found its way from Syria to China. But these fanciful speculations have fallen to the ground. The passage upon which such startling conclusions were built simply reads: "We look at and do not see it, its name the colorless; we listen for it and do not hear it, its name the soundless; we try to grasp it and do not get hold of it, its name the incorporeal. With these qualities it cannot be investigated and defined, and hence we blend them together and form a unity." The writer was simply speaking of his Táo, which we will soon consider.

The *Táo-teh-King*, which has been translated by Julien, Chalmers, Victor von Strauss, and R. von Pläncner, and upon which Legge has also labored, consists of eighty-one chapters. Most of these are brief. Three of them serve as a sort of introduction. Then follow thirty-four in which theology and metaphysics are blended; fifteen predominantly ethical; twenty-eight chiefly political; and a closing chapter which forms a kind of appendix. But these divisions are not rigidly carried through. The clear eye of the philosopher saw the inner connection of these three provinces of truth. Since he does not communicate to us the course taken by his thought, but only its results condensed, expressed in striking, even in paradoxical form, it has been sometimes thought that he simply puts side by side the *disjecta membra* of truth. "Undoubtedly, at first glance, his chapters, and even parts of the same chapter, often appear as disconnected Alpine peaks, jutting up by the side of one another and glowing with the same light streaming from above; but he who descends to their deep foundations will find there a connection, and will perceive the mighty range which binds them into a unity." Thus, though the book as such is not rigidly systematic, the author had in his mind a system deeply thought out, well rounded, and thoroughly organized in all its parts.

The keyword of the system is "Táo." It was not a term

invented by Láo-tsze. It is found in the ancient classical books. We find expressions in the *Shú King* in which the highest being is called "Táo." One of these passages says that Táo is not reluctant to receive the praises of men. Another remarks that "the heart of man is unreliable, but the heart of Táo is deep, clear, one." This antithesis between the heart of man and the heart of Táo seems to indicate that here Táo designates a living, personal being, while both passages show that to it was assigned a high position. In the writings of Confucius Táo is also mentioned. For example, in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, it is said, "The ignorant man who proceeds independently, the commonplace man who yet is fond of assuming directing power for himself, the man of to-day who yet goes back to the Táo of antiquity—upon those who thus act calamities will be sure to come." Even if Táo was an old idea, it must not be wondered at that it is not found more frequently in the classical books, for we have these, it must be remembered, only in the recension of Confucius, whose whole mode of thought was unfavorable to the Táo doctrine. Láo-tsze did not claim to be the discoverer of his philosophical principle or to be the first to give it the name of "Táo." On the contrary, he refers to the Táo of antiquity, and quotes expressions from the ancients and passages from the hymns which relate to it. The probabilities are that he was less a founder than a reformer. "When the religious experience of the time enters with its full force into a profound, powerful, philosophical spirit, and when, as an investigator, he penetrates into the same, it will depend upon his personal endowments whether, logically developing it, he will make it the basis of a rational system of thought, or, viewing it with the eye of intuition, he will convert it into a theosophy." Láo-tsze did the latter. In either case he would feel himself impelled critically to test the religious tradition by the known fundamental principle, and so to become a reformer of the tradition itself and of every province of life determined by it. What, then, is the meaning of "Táo?" It is one of those ambiguous expressions which it is difficult to render in a translation by a single word. Some have rendered it by "way," "path," "road." This is without doubt the original meaning. But it is too materialistic. It

seems to imply also a maker of the "way." Some translate it by "reason," others by "*logos*." Douglas says that if we were compelled to adopt a single word to express its meaning he would choose the Greek *μέθοδος*. Legge says that the Latin *ratio* comes very near to it, and if the word "rationalism" had not taken a particular theological significance its adoption for the system of Láo-tsze would not be amiss; or if "Methodism" and "Methodist" had not assumed so specific a meaning they would not badly apply to the Táoism of Láo-tsze. Some sinologues have employed the word "nature" as the best synonym of "Táo." But this is not wide enough. It is evident that Láo-tsze uses it in a transcendental sense which can be learned only by a study of his whole philosophy. It denotes the primal ground of all that exists. He says, "There is a being incomprehensible, perfect, having arisen before heaven and earth, so quiet, so supersensible it alone abides and changes not, it pervades all being without being endangered. It may be regarded as the material of the world. I know not its name; if I designate it I call it 'Táo.'" Thus, "Táo is before all being; nothing precedes it; by it all things exist, and nothing excludes it." "It is unconditioned, having its law in itself." Does not this remind us of Pope's soul of the world which "lives through all life, extends through all extent, spreads undivided, operates unspent?" As the ultimate cause of the universe, and as the rule for all creatures, it might be called the "primal being." Douglas defines it as "(1) The absolute totality of beings and things; (2) the phenomenal world and its order; (3) the ethical nature of the good man and the principle of his action." But, plainly, these suppose some underlying unity. This unity is Táo.

To know Táo is for man the most important thing. The first condition of such knowledge is that he should recognize his own ignorance. As to the objective possibility of the knowledge of Táo we find a brief but significant hint. He asks, "How do I know that Táo is the creator of the world?" With profound insight he answers, "Through it." Knowledge of Táo is possible only by revelation from Táo itself. The subjective possibility of knowledge rests upon the condition that the person, free from passion, turn himself from the

sensible and direct his gaze inward. He will then get a vision of the spiritual nature of Táo, for he whose action is in accord with Táo becomes one with it, participates in its nature. Thus, Láo-tsze makes the highest knowledge depend upon an ethical act. What a noble theory of knowledge! Man knows only as he knows in God. True knowledge is simply a reproduction in ourselves of things as God sees them. Then mark the ethical condition. By a moral act to clear the mind of its idols and surrender ourselves, without prejudice or selfish passion, to the rational principles within us—this is the path to the temple of truth. Contrast this with the notion of some wise moderns, who argue as though knowledge is simply a matter of the intellect, in no way dependent upon the moral character. In this sage of antiquity do we not get a hint of the great Christian truth that in the conscious, personal fellowship of God all the conditions, objective and subjective, of true knowledge are most effectually actualized? "The Lord is my light." "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." "He that doeth truth cometh to the light."

As the philosopher comes to study deeply Táo as the primal being he sees in it, first, the pure potency of being, as the "void abyss," as mere possibility in which the existent is as yet held back and is there nonexistent. In this form Táo is not yet Táo. It is incomprehensible and unknowable. Nothing can be said of it. One gazes upon it and sees nothing, listens and hears nothing, grasps after it but seizes nothing. But out of this mere potency proceeds the existent. Consequently it is a duality, an upper side, as it were—unknowable, inscrutable, imperceptible—and a lower side which is not obscure and is namable as it begins to create. These two are one. Both are creative. The two fundamental powers, heaven and earth, as still unformed substances indeed, are brought forth by the upper, inscrutable, but all things of form by the lower, the namable. Thus it is said, "The nameless is the primal ground of heaven and earth; the one having a name is the mother of all things." Táo thus seems to be at bottom unconditioned being, which as an abstraction is too subtle for words, but which is in some way the primal ground of all things. Such language reminds us of the Neoplatonists, of Jacob Boehme,

and smacks of Hegel two thousand years and more before Hegel's days. What is it but an attempt to say that the "unconditioned" is higher than any predicates we can apply, manifesting itself in the universe which it brings forth out of its own being? Whether as potential or actual existence, it is still Táo, for existence and nonexistence, though phenomenally two, are really one.

But Láo-tsze does not content himself with these general phrases as to the relation of Táo to the universe. He asks more deeply after the "how." In Táo he sees spirit, spirit as the "highest purity." To this he assigns a share in the creation. To it he ascribes predicates which mark it out as a mediating third between the duality. He calls it the "abyssal mother." The procedure of the duality from the primal being is represented as a result of the inner, living movement of Táo. Potential being, without giving up itself, constantly returns into actual being and back again. The spirit as the mediating third thus has a share both in being and not-being. Thus, from unity we have a duality, brought into a unity again by a triplicity. Táo is expressly described as the primal nature before the triple unfolding. It is known as primordial and before the world. All this is the meaning of the expression, "Táo produced one, the first great cause; one produced two, the male and female principles of nature; two produced three; three produced all things beginning with heaven and earth; and these three together are Táo, that is, Táo is behind all, through all, and the cause of all." Now, all this sounds abstract and subtle, but it is no more so than many utterances of profound minds like Porphyry and Erigena, Boehme and Baader, Schelling and Hegel. Láo-tsze and these are kindred spirits. Do their words not show that to the deepest minds no abstract metaphysical unity is satisfying; that there is not only unity but fullness in the nature of God? Is not the Christian doctrine of the Trinity an answer to such dim hints? Does not even the Gospel teach creation by the Father through the *Logos*?

Is the doctrine of Láo-tsze pantheistic? This seems to be affirmed in the expression that the being of Táo in the world is "like brooks and rivulets which become rivers and seas."

But the context shows that this refers to investigations into the nature of Táo. Man should not remain content with the perceptible manifestation of Táo's work in the world. As rivulets gradually become rivers and seas, so he who strives to know Táo will see things flow together always into greater and greater wholes. But Láo-tsze's whole treatment implies that the primal Táo is distinct from his creation, not only immanent, but transcendent. He never says, or even hints, that Táo has formed things out of its own substance. At bottom, as pure potentiality, it is above the understanding of man, yet it contains not only the archetypes of creation but also its as yet uncreated substance. But Táo does more than create. It produces, nourishes, changes, enlarges, feeds, ripens, cherishes, and governs all things. But, though all-pervading, it works unseen. Though ever inactive, it leaves nothing undone. It is everything and nothing. It is the smallest possible quantity and yet the whole. But it creates, preserves, and blesses created things, not for its own sake, but for theirs. They need it; it does not need them. It loves them, yet not because of longing or passion, but out of pure goodness. Therefore in them is the innate tendency to honor it, to strive after it. Yet this is not imposed as a command upon them. Táo leaves them to full freedom, as though they were not his, and he not their, master. If we ask, "How can this freedom and independence of created things coexist with their absolute dependence upon the constant operation and power of the highest cause of the world?" Láo-tsze replies, "Táo is eternally without action and yet eternally without inaction; but yet there is nothing which it does not do." That is, though all that happens is dependent on its operation, its action as such never appears. Exactly in the wonderful stability, majesty, and beauty of the natural as of the ethical law will be discerned by the open eye the ever-operative will. Its activity consists in this, that its will comes into action through the causes and events of the world. Thus it acts, and is yet without activity. The goal of the whole creative process is the return of all things to Táo, their origin and root. "To be returned to the origin means to be at rest; to be at rest means to have fulfilled the mission; to have fulfilled the mission means to be eternal."

Does this signify that all things, man included, are to be swallowed up by some abysmal soul of the world? No. In proportion as man here has become one with Táo and has entered into sonship with it he loses nothing in death. He who knows how to understand life goes straight on without fleeing before the rhinoceros and the tiger, goes into battle without arraying himself in coat of mail and offensive weapons. The rhinoceros has nothing in such a man into which he can thrust his horn; the tiger has no place in such a man into which he can strike his claws. Weapons can find no place in him into which they can enter. Why? Because he has no mortal spot, and cannot be really slain. He who knows the eternal is of Táo; therefore he may suffer bodily injury without real harm. He who lives for the outward, places all his interests in the external world, and pursues such phantoms will save nothing when life is ended. Yet even the bad are not abandoned by Táo; it will be found of them when they seek it.

Now, the query naturally arises, "What is the relation of this Táo to God?" Did Láo-tsze recognize any such being? Douglas asserts, with some confidence, that "of a personal God Láo-tsze knew nothing, as far as we can judge from the *Táo-teh-King*, and, indeed, such a belief would be in opposition to the whole tenor of his philosophy." In support of this position he quotes the expression, "Táo is empty, in operation exhaustless. . . . I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God." But Legge says that the point is by no means to him so clear. The ancient Chinese, calling the visible sky by the name of "t'ien," used the same term to express their concept of a supreme power. Láo-tsze does this in precisely the same way as Confucius. "The way of heaven" occurs five or six times exactly as in the old classics. We read in the *Táo-teh-King*, also, such expressions as "heaven saves," "governing man and serving heaven." But, in saying that Táo, conceived as the nameless, is the beginning of heaven and earth and, conceived as having a name, is the mother of all things, does not Láo-tsze make Táo prior to heaven? Yes, prior to heaven and earth as they denote the sum total of material existence, but not prior to heaven in the higher sense. But does he not say also, "It might appear to

have been before God?" But surely this does not say that he did not believe in God. Exactly the reverse. The utmost that can be argued from this statement is that *Lão-tsze* makes God posterior, and thus inferior, to *Táo*. Many of his positions are unthinkable unless there is behind the *Táo* the unexpressed recognition of a personal ruler and creator. *Strauss* and *Torney* may be going too far when they say that, "after carefully weighing the expressions as to the *Táo*, one will not hesitate to grant that our language has no better word for it than 'God.' And what a vital idea of God, in contrast not only with the abstract deism of the traditional Chinese faith, but even of many moderns." But, whether this is too strongly stated or not, certainly a comparison and synthesis of what *Lão-tsze* himself says of *Táo* will show that he thought of it as possessed of judgment, reason, intelligence. As a fact, consciousness and reason are the necessary presuppositions to almost all that *Lão-tsze* declares of *Táo* in relation to the universe. When he further speaks of the "spirit" of *Táo*, and calls it the "most reliable spirit," does he think of this "spirit" as without consciousness or reason? When he says that it is through *Táo* that he knows that all things are brought forth by it, was not this knowledge understood to be first of all in *Táo* itself? We believe that all *Lão-tsze's* various statements about *Táo* can be reconciled, if we understand by it the rational and moral principles in the nature of deity which are the source of the order and reason in the universe and in the nature of man. *Lão-tsze* did recognize the existence of deity, but he was more deeply concerned with the origin of the reason and order which he felt to be at the root of things. The meaning of "*Táo*" as "method," "way," "ratio," perfectly accords with this view. Trying to penetrate to the bottom of things, he grasps, though perhaps not firmly, the great thought which the best philosophy of our time is beginning to see, that the reason and order of the universe—the rational and moral principles in the soul of man—are first of all deeply hidden in the divine nature itself, and, awed before this fact, says of *Táo*, "It might almost appear to have been before God."

Lão-tsze's ethics are noteworthy. He has been accused of

the most extreme quietism. How justly, a study of his doctrine will show. His ethics root in his metaphysics. His moral ideal, that the "holy man" is so only as he participates in Tào, is united to it, holds it fast, walks in it. Such men are rare. But the "holy sage" is concerned chiefly with his inner nature, and not about things visible to the mortal eye. Thus he attains the summit of renunciation where he finds in Tào his mother, and recognizing his sonship returns to her bosom, is at rest, has fulfilled his mission, is eternal. To know the eternal is to be enlightened; not to know it demoralizes and makes wretched. When a man, without designedly making his own person his aim, is so determined by the vital principle, Tào, that in pure unselfishness his actions spontaneously proceed from within, so that he imitates Tào without specially willing it, then and only then has he unity and simplicity of soul. As now Tào, without effort or toil, produces, cares for, nourishes, fashions, completes, protects, and blesses all creation, so must the holy man in love approach all, help all, do good to all, and abandon no man, nay, not even any creature whatever. This is so expressly stated that the idea of quietism cannot for a moment be charged against him. He does say, however, that "the way of the holy man is to act, but not to strive." Since he praises this activity, while at the same time he lauds the inaction of the holy sage, he must necessarily distinguish between doing and doing. One is an activity which ought to be; for the other there is no place. As action and inaction are bound together in Tào, so is it in the world of moral freedom. He who truly knows God, sees him in the spirit, will be so overcome by the greatness of his glory and the condescension of his love that he will divest himself of all self-will, give himself wholly to God, and cheerfully let himself be determined by him. Thus the activity of the holy man is pure, unselfish, a product of the inner goodness poured into his heart by Tào; the activity which should not be is external, that which wills itself. We see by this exposition that the action which Láo-tsze rejects is legality, instead of that which springs spontaneously from inner goodness as the river from the bubbling fount. "Not upon external action, but upon being, rests the

ethical worth of man. Being makes the action good, not the action the being." What thought could be nobler? The distinction between the free virtue of the man who has so surrendered himself to the love and life of God that he gladly, naturally obeys, saying in his heart, "I delight to do thy will, O, my God," and the legality of the man who never gets out of the pitiful circle of self, and whose virtue is mere will work and moral drudgery. The great truth which Láo-tsze was groping after was, "Whom the Son makes free is free indeed," a truth beautifully illustrated in the exquisite *Story of Gottlieb*,* who—after severe mental struggles to decide which were best, to seek one's own perfection, to live for others, to live for others so far as this ministry can help make one great and perfect, or to grow, seek all possible perfection, in order that in the end one may the better serve his needy fellows—comes at last to see the more excellent way, and seeks first, not the path, but the pathmaker, God. Having found him, Gottlieb could say:

The solution of all details of duty and of aspiration is as simple as, in nature, the law of gravitation. I gravitate forever toward my God. Better than that, I am already in my God, and he in me. We possess a mutual life, a life in which all petty self-directions and self-seeking cease. By his own Spirit I am guided ever more fully, ever more blessedly into all truth.

In a systematic elaboration of particular duties Láo-tsze had no interest. For rules and regulations he had little use. Indeed, he explains the construction of such systems as symptoms of backsliding from Táo. He says:

When the great Táo is abandoned men speak of humanity and righteousness; when there is difficulty between relatives men talk about filial piety; when the State is tottering men chatter about loyalty. The pigeon is not white on account of much bathing, nor does the crow paint itself black. If the pigeon began to bathe itself and the crow to paint itself, would it not be a sign that they had lost their original colors? So will men. If all men were humane, filial, and loyal no one would profess these virtues, and they would therefore never be named. . . . When Táo is lost, then comes virtue; when virtue is lost, then comes benevolence; when benevolence is lost, then comes justice; and when justice is lost, then comes propriety, for propriety is the mere skeleton of fidelity and faith, and the precursor of confusion.

* By W. F. Warren, LL.D.

By this saying he seems to mean that the lower virtues are included in the higher, and all of them in Táo; so that if one has Táo he has all, and if once Táo is abandoned man is on a slippery incline sliding lower and lower to mere etiquette, the mere ghost of virtue. In such utterances how Láo-tsze towers above Confucius! This latter teacher, so revered in China, would cleanse the outside of the cup and platter. He would have every rite and ceremony at court, in official life, in the family circle, scrupulously observed, down to the number of meals to be eaten and the posture to be assumed in bed. But Láo-tsze would purify the heart, out of which are the issues of life. The holy sage is humble, free from inordinate desire, modest, circumspect, prudent, discreet, self-possessed, complacent, frugal that he may be benevolent, merciful without ostentation. He treats the good graciously, because the good deserves it; the bad he also treats kindly, for virtue is essentially gracious. While living in the world the holy man does not allow it to pollute his heart. Láo-tsze said of himself, "As for me, I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize, namely, compassion, economy, and humility." He sets up also a demand which we are accustomed to regard as one of the highest Christian precepts. Though Confucius could not rise to so great a height, Láo-tsze says, "We should recompense evil with good." Did he regard human nature as naturally good? So it is sometimes said. It is true he did not expressly recognize the universal corruption of the moral nature of man. Yet, since he taught that man can become what he should be only by knowledge of Táo and union with it, would it not seem to follow that previously the man was something other than he ought to be? Confusion arises from the ambiguity in the word "nature." The nature of man may be understood as that which he is in the creative thought of God—that to which his Maker destined him, represented to Plato by the idea of humanity, to us by Jesus Christ; or it may mean man as we find him actually in this wicked world. In the former case it could be said, "Man is by nature good;" in the latter, that he is bad. Láo-tsze does not express himself clearly on the subject.

As Láo-tsze's ethics spring out of his metaphysics, so do

his politics out of his ethics. From of old China had recognized the State as the ethical form of man's social life. Láo-tsze knew no other form of the State than the patriarchal or monarchical. Yet he demands that the subjects feel themselves free and independent. The only guarantee for this civil freedom he finds in the voluntary limitation of power of which the holy man alone is capable. His political principles are brought to a focus in his portrayal of the maxims and methods of government which characterize the holy man. He shows a profound knowledge of the nature of the State when he says that it is a "growth," and not a "manufacture," a vessel of the spirit, a mediator of the development of the total united life of a multiplicity of men. Hence, the best statesman or ruler can do nothing greater than to recognize the type historically begotten or striven after by the collective life of the nation, and as far as possible to help this to a corresponding manifestation. The whole course of history proves the truth and depth of these words. Statesmen should take to heart the national spirit and the national mission. The ruler, Láo-tsze insists, should especially be free from lust of power. "The heart of the people is his heart." The running stream is the favorite metaphor he employs to express his ideal course of conduct for the ruler. It fertilizes, cleanses, refreshes, but is modest enough to seek the lower levels. So the sage sovereign is helpful but humble. Loving the people, he will care for their life, their physical support, their whole well-being. He will try to reform them, not by imposing rules, forms, ceremonies, but by leading them to the knowledge of Táo, and so back to that state of innocence, that golden age of virtue before man was burdened with forms and proprieties. In one sense he would adopt the maxim, "The less government the better;" that is, he would lead the people to self-government through surrender of themselves to Táo. The government that meddles with every detail of the people's life falls into decay by producing the very evils it was intended to avert, as food is spoiled by too much cooking. "Everything for the people and everything by the people" is the motto of his liberal politics. If the ruler does but love kindness, avoids lawmaking, is free from

lust, depends more upon mildness and complacency than upon harshness and obstinacy; if he makes the people's good his great care, then everything will cheerfully submit to him, heaven and earth will combine to send down upon him refreshing dews, and the people will of themselves live in sweet concord. Láo-tsze hates the clamorous politicians who at every street corner harangue about their own wisdom and the wickedness of their political foes. Such glib-tongued meddlers proclaim only their own folly and entangle the State in the meshes of misfortune. The shame of such factious politics can be removed and the blinding glare tempered only by modesty and self-emptiness.

Of war Láo-tsze is a strenuous opponent. He is a sage of peace. No wonder he abhorred the clash of arms. War, rapine, plunder, bloodshed were rife in his day. Princes, with no regard for their subjects, enforced levies, seized supplies, marched armies through the standing crops. Only a remnant of the people, beggared by exactions and made desperate by want, were left behind. Briers and thorns grew where legions had been quartered, while gaunt famine and poisonous pestilence followed in their wake. Amid such violence and desolation Láo-tsze lifted up his voice for peace. The superior man, he says, will make this his highest aim. Weapons he takes up only as a last resort. He fights bravely, but only when he must fight in a good cause. If forced into war he mourns with bitter tears over the destruction of property and life, and as soon as the stern necessity has passed away he gladly lays down his arms. When the campaign is over he takes his place upon the right, as though he were at a funeral, mourning over the lives he has been compelled to destroy. When he has conquered an honorable peace he does not needlessly irritate the vanquished by triumphing over his fall, does not exact oppressive or shameful terms of peace, but does what he can to mollify the wounded spirit. Would that in these days of international troubles, when giddy heads and thoughtless tongues prate much of war, the world would heed these words of wisdom dropped from the lips of a heathen sage! May they find shining illustration in the nations which profess to be under the sway of the "Prince of

Peace," so that soon shall "forgotten be the bugle blast, and battle music of the drum," that the cradle song of Christ may not have been sung in vain for this generation.

Láo-tsze objects also to capital punishment. He held that in a well-governed State the necessity for it would never arise. But when men are carried headlong by passion no penalty will hinder their rushing into crime. He says :

When the people do not fear death, to what purpose is death still used to overcome them? But if there be a man worthy of death there is always the "great Executioner" in whose hands are the issues of life and death. . . . Now, for any man to act the Executioner's part is to hew out the great Architect's work for him. He who undertakes to do this rarely fails to cut his fingers.

Such are the leading thoughts of this profound sage of ancient China. Well might it have been for it had it learned deeply of him, instead of from Confucius. But Confucius's spirit was the spirit of his nation. Láo-tsze was too far in advance to be even understood, much less followed. He was a solitary genius, a great peak lifting its glittering head miles above the little foothills about. Some have styled his ideas Brahmanical, and seek in the Hindu philosophy, especially of the Vedanta school, materials for the interpretation of the *Táo-teh-King*. Our exposition shows that there is no such harmony. Brahmanism is essentially pantheistic. There is nothing to show that the ideas of Láo-tsze were so. His system was far more intensely ethical and personal. How little real affinity between his lofty thoughts and the superstitious follies of modern Táoism! What a lesson here to those who argue for the continuous advance of human thought! How far has China in twenty-five hundred years advanced beyond Láo-tsze!

Geo. H. Trever

ART. VI.—THE CUP OF SORROW.

No more strangely enigmatical words ever fell from the Saviour's lips than the oft-repeated prayer in the garden, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." They reveal a mysterious experience whose soul wistfulness and heart hunger overwhelm us. A brief glance at the circumstances which surrounded our Lord, that fateful night when his quivering lips uttered this cry, will greatly aid our study of this experience. With his disciples he has forsaken the retreat where they had celebrated the "last supper." Silent and sad they pass down the steep side of the Kedron, and are soon on the road which leads to Bethany. But on this occasion he will not go to Bethany, for in the distance loom the outlines of the garden which shall witness his coming grief. To the careless onlooker nature seems strangely out of sympathy with the impending tragedy. "The young leaves have already burst their buds, and are covering twig and branch with their network of green." The light of the "Passover moon" shimmers through the foliage, falling on a form bent in the awfulness of a great agony. Yet when one remembers the current of events so rapidly hurrying toward the Arimathean's garden it will be seen that nature's mood well befitted the scene. Of the "garden" itself Dr. Olin writes: "The theater of this sublime transaction impresses itself upon the imagination in characters not to be effaced. It was near one of the most thronged and busy portions of Jerusalem, and yet lay so low in the valley of Jehoshaphat that not a sound from the restless hum of the city's strife could penetrate its profound depths. Its seclusion from the world was complete."

It was amid the solitude and gloom of this sanctuary that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was to undergo an intensity of suffering to which the purely human soul must ever be a stranger. It was not strange then that he longed to be alone. "Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder," are his words of loving counsel to his companions. They must not behold his anguish, the sight of which would have produced greater stu-

pefaction than the astonishment caused by his transfiguration. Soon they are lost in sleep, but upon the Master the fury of the storm descends. For four thousand years it had been gathering, and now leaps forth with a fury that is almost irresistible. And he is alone in an awful and absolute solitude. Human sympathy could not aid him even by its dumb presence. Heaven seemed far away. The stars had gone out. He was walking near the valley of the shadow of death, and beneath the shadows of the "olive garden" were fulfilled the prophetic words, "I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me." The sacred writers have almost exhausted language in their effort to convey to our mind some impression of our Saviour's anguish. They tell us that he "kneeled down," and "fell on his face;" that his soul was "exceeding sorrowful unto death;" that he "was sore amazed," and "very heavy."

The fact of our Lord's agony is thus self-evident. What was its cause? Fortunately the answer to this question is not a difficult one. There were two factors operative in producing his sufferings: First, he was subject, in a large sense, to the laws of human experience. There was in him a human consciousness. He was undoubtedly affected by its exercise. He is now misunderstood by friend and foe alike. The very men to whom his great heart had been freely opened lie asleep, as much apart from him as if they did not exist. Not only so, but, "before the next dawn shudders in the east, and steals over the terraced hills of Judea," they will all forsake him and flee. Nor is this the worst. His own familiar friend in whom he trusted "will degrade the holiest symbol of human affection into a sign of betrayal. And the man who with persistent vehemence had vowed eternal constancy will soon deny his Lord with oaths and curses." The contemplation of these facts must have contributed to the soul agony of this royal sufferer. Second, he was the God-man. He was the "lamb slain from the foundation of the world." He is already bearing the burden of the world's sins. Heavier and heavier does that indescribable burden grow. As he nears the end its weight well-nigh crushes him. There is no escape. He knows it. He does not seek it. He will gladly

climb Golgotha's rugged side and finish with joy "the work the Father had given him to do."

What, then, is the meaning of those strange enigmatical words, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me?" What did our Lord mean by "this cup?" The question has given rise to much discussion. Commentators have given to it unusual attention. We cannot do better at this point than cite the opinions of some of our leading exegetes:

"This cup" of suffering; that is, those bitter sufferings which were before him, particularly the burden of his Father's wrath.—*Burkitt*.

The cup. The present agony. If man's salvation can be obtained in any way consistent with the claims of divine justice, "let this cup pass from me."—*Binney and Steele*.

The cup. The conflict and agony of dying, showing that he was brought to the point of shrinking when he called in help.—*Jacobus*.

The cup. The suffering and dying now before him. There was a momentary longing for deliverance, which afterward yielded to unconditional submission.—*Myer*.

These opinions are fairly representative and may be accepted as typical, and hence further citation would be a useless repetition. Now, it will be seen from these opinions that the phrase "this cup" includes the whole period of our Lord's passion, placing special emphasis upon his ignominious death on the cross. This conclusion is sustained with almost perfect unanimity by the various exegetes quoted. Do they express the true meaning of that prayer? The writer unhesitatingly answers in the negative. Their interpretations involve inconsistencies and absurdities which forbid their acceptance. Let us glance at some of those difficulties:

(1) Our Lord's sufferings and death were an integral part of inspired prophecy. So much a part of it, indeed, that to eliminate that factor would justify the charges made by the most ribald infidelity against those Old Testament predictions. His sufferings, death, and its manner, were foretold with the circumstantiality of an eyewitness. Can we think of any agony so intense as to cause the Saviour to lose sight of his relation to the prophetic messages of Israel's seers? None knew so well as he that in him all types, symbols, and predictions were to find completest culmination. Could he forget this? Was there ever a moment up to this crucial hour when

he seemed to lose sight of the goal? No. Had he not reminded his disciples again and again, saying, "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain?" Why should he waver now?

(2) But these views put Christ in an attitude of shrinking weakness that make him compare unfavorably with his own disciples, who in latter years gladly hurried to seize the crown of martyrdom, almost unmindful of the exquisite torture they must endure. And, even worse than that, such a view makes our Lord's weakness greater than the weakness of many of the heroes of pagan antiquity, who for love of country endured tortures indescribable, without shrinking for a moment, or seeking escape, though escape were possible. The writer will examine but one illustration, which he borrows from another. During the first Punic war Marcus Regulus, a noble Roman, was captured by the Carthaginians and held as a prisoner for five years, at the end of which time he was sent to Rome, in company with peace envoys, to induce the Senate to consent to terms of peace which should include an exchange of prisoners. Before leaving Carthage, Regulus had given his word of honor as a Roman that, should the Senate reject the peace proposal, he would return to Carthage a prisoner. His presence in the Senate chamber moved the legislators to tears. They were ready for his sake to accept their enemies' terms and conclude a peace. But Regulus implored the Senate to reject the proposals. His importunity prevailed, and, true to his word of honor, he returned to Carthage a prisoner. He could have broken faith with the Carthaginians and remained in Rome, but honor and patriotism outweighed all else. Well he knew that he need expect no mercy from his enemies. On the return of the party the rage of the disappointed Carthaginians knew no bounds. Regulus was subjected to the most inhuman tortures. Yet not one word of regret escaped his lips. Rome first, self afterward, was the principle that sustained him. When we remember his long imprisonment, his physical weakness, his opportunity to escape, we cannot doubt the greatness of his sacrifice nor the nobility of soul that inspired him. Was the Son of man less noble than the pagan Roman?

Was he less self-sacrificing? Yes, if so be that he sought to escape, even for a moment, either the sufferings of the garden or the cross, which he so well knew led straight to human redemption. The supposition is revolting, and hence we reject the theory that makes such a conclusion possible.

(3) But, more serious still, this view puts Christ in an attitude of strangest inconsistency. He knew that apart from his death there could be no remission of sins. Hear him exclaim: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." "No man taketh it [my life] from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." And he knew that the sufferings through which he must pass were a means to the end, for to the impetuous Peter he said, "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" How thoroughly inconsistent are all these utterances with the theory that he desired, even momentarily, to escape from his sufferings! On the contrary he longed with all desire to reach Calvary and finish his work. For, he says, as he converses with his disciples, "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." His great soul was almost impatient at the delay. The word used in the New Testament Greek for "straitened" is *συνέχουαι*, that is "pressed," "hampered," "crowded." It is as though he had said, "I must suffer many things, even death on the cross, but I am eager for it. I am pressed in spirit until it come to pass." Looking back over the period of our Lord's passion and death the most philosophic of all the apostles says, "Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame." Surely it does not appear that there was the slightest desire on the Saviour's part to shun any of the sufferings which awaited him. He rather waited with intense longing for the hour to come when from Golgotha's grim crest would ring out the words, "It is finished." It was for this he had entered the world, and toward this consummation his whole career unswervingly converged.

But there is another theory which has been elaborated with considerable skill, and which we give in the author's own words :

There was another agent crowding himself upon the garden scene of sorrow and surprise. Another hand was preparing a cup which was not in the redemption plan. The aspiring intruder with lies and deception had polluted the first garden and deceived and ruined the first Adam; he now intrudes himself, with all his malicious arts and agencies, into another conflict, desiring to contest the suffering Saviour's right to universal dominion, which dominion Satan claimed as his own. When Satan left Jesus in the wilderness, after the forty days, terrible in the threefold temptation, it is recorded with deep significance, "He departed from him for a season." Jesus, having completely vanquished the enemy, Satan left the field until a future time. He left the field only to renew the assault with greater skill and force at the most favorable opportunity. The onslaught was renewed in that dark and terrible hour in the garden. Jesus recognized the presence of the devil at that moment when he was "sore amazed," surprised, astonished, as if the presence of something unexpected. "Stunned" is the radical idea of the word. Dr. Whedon says: "'Sore amazed,' an expression, as it were, of horror at some strange revelation of depths of evil unexpected and hitherto unconceived to his soul." The presence of Satan surprised and astonished him; and he, turning to the disciples, lovingly exhorted them to prayer and watchfulness, saying, "Lest ye enter into temptation," saying also to the intruders, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness"—"the hour when ye Jews and the prince of darkness will both combine and make common cause against me." There was a possibility that the humiliating experience or cup our Lord endured in the wilderness temptation might be repeated with sevenfold force and skill. It was possible that the spotless and immaculate soul of the Saviour might be called to an additional experience of anguish and humiliation, which, coming unexpectedly and entirely unauthorized, and from a source and prompted by motives the most malicious, may properly be designated "the cup of devils." The visit of Satan to the garden just at that central point in the world's history, and at the crisis in the work of redemption, might well have filled the Saviour's mind with amazement and prompted him to cry out in anguish of soul, "O my Father, if it be possible, remove this cup from me."

What peculiar form the temptation of the devil had assumed, or was about to assume, we may not know; but we do know that there is nothing so repulsive, nothing half so forbidding and hateful to a holy soul, except sin, as to be under the dire necessity of a hand-to-hand conflict with an impure and malignant spirit. The more holy a man is the more per-

fectly does he see the true nature of sin. How fearful, then, must it have been to the infinitely holy and spotless Jesus, to have to endure any personal approach of the devil or his angels in this, his last solemn agony before his final sufferings upon the cross! The near approach at any time of one so full of evil must have been a terrible humiliation, but more so on this solemn, sacrificial occasion. The thing prayed for was the deliverance from the cup which Satan was preparing for him, the removal of which was certainly contemplated by our Lord as the possible will of his Father, which will be accepted as supreme. After painstaking, unbiased study, we feel compelled to discard this second theory for the following reasons:

(1) There seems to be no sufficient reason why Satan's presence in the garden should have occasioned any surprise, much less why it should have caused the Master to be "sore amazed." The drama in which he was chief actor could not close until every scene was fully consummated. We have no right to assume that at any point from inception to consummation the presence of Satan might not be looked for. Consider for a moment the interests at stake. Christ's advent and its successful issue meant Satan's downfall and dethronement. The increase of one kingdom meant the inevitable decrease of the other. With this knowledge would Satan lose any opportunity to thwart or defeat the establishment of the Redeemer's reign? Is it conceivable that, during the closing scenes of that tragedy, Satan would be either idle or absent? And who knew more fully than the Master the character of his foe or the nature of the interest it involved? He needed none to tell him that his enemy never knew defeat. Foiled in one direction he eagerly seeks a new vantage ground. Tireless, vigilant, alert, persistent, undaunted, he would never yield until the object of his attack was forever beyond his reach. It was the expected that happened when the suffering Son of God was assailed in the garden. It seems unreasonable to urge, then, that the assault should have occasioned any surprise.

(2) But, had our Lord expected exemption from Satan's presence in that decisive hour such a desire would have implied an incomplete scheme of redemption. The writer of Hebrews says that Christ was "in all points tempted like as

we are." Had Jesus shrunk from that contest, or had he been relieved of the hateful presence, it would, in either instance, have been a confession of weakness so grave as to leave a weak spot in the Christian's defenses. But Christ was more than conqueror; he "led captivity captive." Why, then, should he seek exemption from Satan's presence? We prefer to think that the Son of God met and outwitted the soul's most malignant enemy at every conceivable point. Our divine exemplar craved no quarter, shrank from no onslaught, but gladly for our sakes met, resisted, and vanquished the hosts of darkness. Anything less than this would seriously weaken the provisions made for the defense and sustenance of "the flock of God." From such a possibility the mind revolts.

(3) Not only so, but surprise at the Satanic presence in the garden implies ignorance of the ordinary experience of God's servants in all ages. For where in the word of God, or where in the multiplied experiences of his children, are we warranted in believing that even in our best hours the enemy of all good will be absent? When the sons of God appear Satan appears also with them. Knowing this, and understanding the character of his foe so well, our Lord could not have felt surprise at his presence in the garden.

(4) But the advocates of this view admit that "this cup" was no part of the "redemption plan." Such an admission absolutely vitiates the theory for which they contend. Would the Father have permitted his Son to endure such depths of anguish had it borne no relation to the redemptive scheme? We think not. Let it be understood we do not assert or imply that the Satanic presence in the garden was in any sense a part of the "redemption plan." We simply call attention to the fact that, if that presence was the bitterest drop in our Lord's cup of agony, if it was from that he craved deliverance, and if it was no part of the scheme of redemption, then our Lord's keenest anguish was the result of Satanic wantonness and was purely gratuitous. Such a conclusion is so monstrous that it voids the theory that gave it being. And this theory is inconsistent with the subsequent acts in the divine drama. It will be remembered that as our Redeemer hung on the cross his enemies scoffed, saying, "If thou be the

Son of God, come down from the cross. . . . He saved others; himself he cannot save." Was such conduct the product of human ingenuity? It would seem not. Had the Saviour been guilty of all they charged him with such treatment was essentially devilish. There is a certain sacredness in the closing hours of even the vilest. They are permitted to die in peace. But, if the worst they said of Christ were true, he was but a harmless enthusiast who had withal done much good. The spirit that profaned his closing hours was Satanic to the utmost extent. The chief agent in the wilderness temptation was again near, and this alone will account for the horrid profanation. If present at the crucifixion why should his presence in the garden have occasioned surprise? It could not have been this from which deliverance was craved. A much better explanation of the Satanic presence in Gethsemane is that it was an incident growing out of our Lord's experiences, and ought not to be magnified into undue significance. It was incidental, just as our temptations are incidental. We do not hold that any temptations are ordained of God. They arise out of personal weakness and our relations to a sinful world. Their presence at any time need not surprise us, nor need we find it necessary to implore the Father to remove them. We do need strength to resist, and that is freely promised us. But our Lord prayed for the removal of "this cup," and that fact discounts the theory that such cup was in any sense a temptation. The thing from which he craved deliverance must have been something besides the presence of Satan in the garden.

What then was "this cup" to which Christ alludes? Of two facts we are certain:

(1) It was a present, rather than a future, experience.* This appears from a careful examination of the original, *ἐι δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο*. It will be observed that in addition to the article *τὸ* the demonstrative pronoun *τοῦτο* is also used. We find on examination that all three of the evangelists follow the same usage. We also dis-

* When the writer was a student in Drew Seminary Dr. James Strong mentioned this fact, and advised investigation. The results of that investigation are here given.

cover that the preposition *παρά*—which means “by,” “near,” “along side of,” and when used with the accusative means “near,” “by the side of”—is used in combination with the verb in the corresponding passages of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, which refer to our Lord’s pleas for deliverance. Such a fact clearly shows that the phrase “this cup” must have been something present in the garden from which Christ sought deliverance.

(2) But, once more, we know that he did not drink the cup. His cry was heard, and he was delivered from the dreaded experience. This appears from Heb. v, 7, “Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared.” The ambiguity of this passage disappears when we turn to the translation given by Moses Stuart in his commentary on Hebrews. He renders *καὶ εἰσο κονοθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας* thus, “And was heard in respect to that which he feared, or, was delivered from that which he feared.” Now, this passage can refer to but one person, the Lord Jesus Christ. And the experience it portrays must have been his agony in the garden. There is no other experience that corresponds with the intensity of emotion which this passage breathes. And the truth it contains completely voids the commonly accepted theory that the thing our Lord prayed to be delivered from was death on the cross.

But another answer may be given to the question considered. We must bear in mind that during the three years of our Saviour’s ministry he had been subject to a constantly increasing nervous tension. As he neared the end mind and heart and body were under a remorseless dominion. The intense weight that rested upon him naturally produced extraordinary physical depression. In this condition he entered the garden. The moment he knelt he felt that his physical powers were yielding. The body had borne all it could bear. It was then that a great fear seized him. If no relief came could he endure the strain. Might not he sink under the load that crushed him to the earth? When this possibility flashed before him his whole nature revolted. “No, no,” his soul cried, “not this; do not ask me to drink

this cup." He had "trodden the winepress alone," and not a murmur had escaped his lips. But death in the garden, with longed-for Calvary in the near future, would indeed be a bitter cup. It was this he feared, and it was from this he so earnestly sought deliverance. Can this view be demonstrated? The answer will be found in an examination of the grounds that in the writer's estimation sustain this theory.

As we have already seen, the Saviour's physical nature was exhausted. So intense were his emotions that the blood was forced through the pores of his skin. It is not reasonable to suppose that his already overburdened heart could have endured the strain much longer. Had no relief come he must have died of heart rupture—the actual cause of his death a few hours later. But help did come. In Luke xxii, 43, we read, "And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him." Luke here puts the celestial visitant's aid between the second and the third prayer, when our Lord's agony was greatest and his weakness most felt. This is of the utmost importance as showing that the strength imparted to the suffering Saviour was physical strength. And this is further shown by the original, for the verb *ἐνισχύω* means "to impart vigor," "to make strong." The conclusion is abundantly confirmed by Heb. v, 7, already quoted. It will be seen at a glance that these two passages, Luke xxii, 43, and Heb. v, 7, sustain the contention this article raises. Jesus did not fear either suffering or death. He did not shrink from the cup which his Father had given him; but he did crave deliverance from "this cup," and from it he was delivered. The view magnifies, rather than diminishes, his submission to the Father's will. Death in the garden would have robbed him of the one cherished boon of his earthly life. The only prize he had coveted is about to be snatched from his grasp. Yet, if this be his Father's will, the quivering heart sobs, "Amen!" Was ever submission like this? Our mind fails in its attempt to fathom so stupendous an experience.

The writer knows of no interpretation so free from difficulty, from the view-point of the Arminian theology. The Calvinist will smile at it as puerile. He finds no difficulty in this experience of our Lord. In the Calvinistic view the Son shrank,

not from suffering or death, but from the prospect of absolute abandonment. But the only thing that can separate from God is sin. Christ was not a sinner; hence he could not fear separation from the Father. In rejecting the Calvinist interpretation we have found ourselves driven to seek some extrication from the difficulties that surround us. If the Son of God did not shrink from the prospect of absolute separation from the Father, what was it from which his soul desired escape? The writer has sought the best light possible, and offers the view last named as the solution of a most delicate and difficult question. It is not claimed that this solution is absolutely free from objection, but we do insist that it is the most reasonable solution yet offered. It forever does away with the necessity of thinking that Jesus, the Son of God, the Saviour of men, pleaded in awful earnestness of soul to be delivered from the very thing for which he entered the world. It clears the mental atmosphere, and is an aid to our faith to feel that Jesus never held back from any anguish, however exquisite it might be, but that he unswervingly went forward to the end. And it does not seem extravagant to assert that the view here urged is consistent and scriptural, and therefore commends itself as worthy of acceptance.

Robt. Watt.

ART. VII.—WHO WERE THE HITTITES (HETHITES)?

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that no nation of antiquity has, in the last few years, received more attention than the Hittites. And it may also be said that in regard to none has the generally accepted tradition been more completely revolutionized. Though the words "Hittite" and "Hittites" occur more than fifty times in the Old Testament, a writer says of it, in the time of Abraham, "The tribe was evidently as yet but small, not important enough to be noticed beside 'the Canaanite and the Perizzite.'"^{*} Many biblical passages indicate plainly, however, that they were neither few in number nor politically unimportant, at this time or shortly afterward. The fact that Abraham bought a tomb from the sons of Heth for "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," shows plainly enough the occupation in which they were engaged. Another writer thinks there is no doubt the latter were natives of Cyprus, or at least that this was the chief seat of their power.[†] It seems to incline to the opinion that they were Greeks, while the former name may designate a different people, and that the names occurring in the Bible may have arisen from confusing two peoples that were in fact distinct. There is no doubt that the powerful nation of the Cheta of the Egyptian monuments and the Chatti of the cuneiform inscriptions dwelt north of Palestine. It is evident from the cautious tone of Professor Kautzsch, the author of the article just cited, that he did not feel justified, by his study of the evidence, in holding any positive views on the subject. Yet the origin and ethnic relations of the Pelasgi have exercised scholars for at least half a century.

Hitzig regarded them as the ancestors of the modern Albanians. This view is supported with much warmth by Von Hahn. The most recent attempt to strengthen this hypothesis is made by Benloew in his *La Grèce avant les Grecs*. It may be said, however, that it does not seem to be consid-

^{*}See article under this caption in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. IV, p. 279.

[†]See the articles "Hethiter" and "Chittim" in Riehm's *Handwoerterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*.

ered tenable by any competent authority. Not a few scholars have maintained that the Pelasgi were Semites. Among these are Kortuem, and particularly Kiepert. Crusius contends that they were either Semites or strongly impregnated by a Semitic civilization that points to Lydia. Pauli, on the other hand, seeks to prove that the Pelasgians were a pre-Semitic and pre-Aryan people. Considering the problem from the Greek standpoint, we find the fullest discussion of this mysterious people in the second edition of Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*. After a full citation of ancient authorities the author expresses the opinion that the name "Pelasgi" spread from Thessaly all over Greece. He concludes from statements in Homer that the Pelasgi were pre-Achæan and pre-Hellenic inhabitants of this country. But we nowhere find in his history a definite statement regarding their original home.

Notwithstanding the conservatism of Busolt and others who have very recently written upon the history of the Greeks, it is daily becoming more manifest that their early civilization is almost purely an "eastern question." The primitive history of the world is no longer divided into "sacred" and "profane," even by the most orthodox theologians. It has become a well-established fact that man in his social state, from its earliest beginnings in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but chiefly in the latter region, passed through a series of slowly changing phases to which many influences contributed. Traces of the Greeks are found farther and farther back in the proto-historic period of the human race. It has become plainly evident that they, too, passed through the usual rude stages, but, unlike the other peoples that swarmed about the eastern shores of the "sea that moans with memories," they were continually profiting by contact and intercourse with their neighbors of alien race. The influence exerted upon them by the Phœnicians has long been recognized, and that of other non-Aryans more than surmised. It is probable that the rapid progress of archæological discovery will soon make it possible to mark out pretty clearly what elements in the social and religious institutions of the Greeks were original with themselves and what appropriated from the older ethnic units of Asia.

Altogether the most ambitious attempt that has yet been

made to solve the much-debated question of the origin of the Pelasgi is by De Cara in a volume of 750 pages.* It is devoted to a study of Siria, Asia Minore, and Ponto Eussino, and seeks to fortify the position indicated in its title. Ancient Greek authors are practically unanimous in the belief that all the islands of the Ægean, together with Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, as well as the Greek continent and a large portion of Italy, were first inhabited by Pelasgi. If, then, it can be shown that the Pelasgi were the Hittites or Hethites, the Khittim of the Bible, the Kheta or Khiti of the Egyptians, the Khatti of the Assyrians, and if the argument from tradition accords with that of the monuments which still bear the epithet "Pelasgic" and with the religious symbolism peculiar to the Pelasgi in all the countries occupied by them, nothing more can be desired to establish the priority in time of the migration of the Hethites to that of the sons of Javan. Strabo says the Syrians seem to have once occupied all the country from Babylon, by way of the Gulf of Issos, to the Euxine Sea. Owing to their wide dispersion the ancients frequently confounded the Syrians with the Assyrians, who were, however, as is well known, an entirely different people. The shorter name is nothing more than an unconscious abridgment of the longer one. In illustration of Greek names that have a Hethite basis we have room for only a few etymologies. "Kadmos" is "Khethmos" or "Kheth(i)mos." What Kadmos stands for in Greek legend need not detain us here. He was the reputed son of Agenor, king of Phœnicia. But Syria embraces Phœnicia, for as Pliny says, "*Qui subtilius dividunt circumfundi Syria Phœnicen volunt et esse oram maratimam Syriæ.*" Kadmos was then a Hethite. The same root also occurs in "Kythera," the name of a city and an island, where we have "Kyth" with the suffix "r," the compound meaning "city of the Hethites." By the usual extension of meaning a name at first purely local was afterward applied to the entire island. The same suffix appears in Hethite composites as "ar," "er," "ir," "or," "ur," and "al," "el," "il," "ol," "ul." It also appears in other forms and disguises. The name *χελιδνὰ* or *χελιδν* was

* *Gli Hethel-Pelasgi. Ricerche di Storia e di Archaeologia Orientale, Greca ed Italiana del P. Cesare De Cara della Compagnia di Gesù.* Roma, 1894. The argument contained in this article is derived largely from this volume.

applied to the whole island of Cyprus in the most ancient times. This name was subsequently transformed into "Kition" and "Citium." Now *χεθιμ* is the Egyptian and Assyrian "Hamathâ," "Hemtu," or "Hemut." According to the testimony of Pliny, the whole island was at one time called "Amathusia." At a later period the name "Amathus" was restricted to the single city now called "Limisso." Both the appellation of the island and of the city are variants of Hamath, the parent city on the Orontes. The first syllable in "Pelasgi" is a Hamitic root signifying *migrare, advenire*; as a substantive its meaning is *peregrinator, advena*. If to the prefix we add the ethnic or local expletive "Ati" or "Asi" we get the meaning *advena ex Asia*, or *Asiaticus*. An earlier name of Asia was "Khatia," whence we get an explanation of the termination *ασγοι* or *ασγι*. This is *ασικοι, ασικι*, then by syncope *ασκοι* and *ασκι*. Now this Asiki is a compound signifying "people of Khatia or Asia." The country of the Hethites was known as "mat Khati." The phonetic change is compared to that occurring in Athana, Asana—*φαι, φασι*.

If we wish to know how the Greeks came to adopt a name given to themselves by these foreigners met with in so many places on Grecian territory we apparently have it in the answer to the question as to who they were and whence they came. To both the reply would be, "We are Pelasgi, that is, immigrants from Asia." By this method it is not difficult to find an explanation of such local names as "Attika," "Ithaka," and many more. In the first syllable we have again the word "Heth," to which is added a suffix of locality, "ka." The names "Atys," "Kotys," and "Asia" are identical, as De Cara says, and thus he assists us in studying the origin of the Pelasgi in all its bearings.

Comparatively few persons can contribute anything of value to the solution of this long-debated question. It is, however, fairly certain that the Hittites were a race of conquerors who subjugated the countries they overran for the purpose of laying them under tribute, and not with a view to colonization and permanent occupancy. The chief seats of their power were Carchemish on the Euphrates, Hamath, Aleppo, and Kadesh. They were at the height of their power in the four-

teenth and thirteenth centuries before Christ, but traces of their presence are found at least a century earlier and four centuries later. Their migrations can be followed as far as Lake Van, but they probably started farther east. Their own sculptures, with which those of the Egyptians in the main agree, represent them as short in stature and thick of limb. They had retreating foreheads, high cheek bones, large nostrils, and a prominent upper lip. Their skins were yellow; their hair and eyes were black. Their hair was arranged in the form of a queue, and on their feet they wore a sort of shoe with up-turned toes. This is taken as an indication that they came from a cold country, as such foot-gear is well adapted for walking on snow. "The type," says Sir Charles Wilson, "while not a beautiful one, is still found in some parts of Kappadokia, especially among the people living in the extraordinary subterranean towns which I discovered beneath the great plain west of Nigdeh." While these people were unquestionably an exotic among the Semites of northern Asia, they intermarried more or less with them—a relationship into which they could easily enter as long as they were the ruling race.

A study of the whole question in the light of accessible evidence makes it well-nigh certain that the Hittites were Turanians, and that their early conquests in western Asia belong to a list of raids made southward, eastward, and westward from their original seats in Turkestan. The Hyksos may have been of this race. Professor Hommel is confident that the Sumero-Akkadians, the mysterious people whose civilization underlies that of the later Mesopotamians, spoke a language that has many points of resemblance to the modern Turkish. It seems incredible that tribes that had not advanced beyond the half-nomadic and half-agricultural stage of social progress should be capable of overthrowing great empires and establishing on their ruins a government possessing some of the elements of permanence. But the careers of Attila, Tamerlane, Jenghis Khan, and the Turks are sufficient evidence of what they were capable of doing under competent leadership.

Chas. W. Super.

ART. VIII.—THE MENTAL CONDITION OF THE
CHINAMAN AS VIEWED FROM WITHIN.

THE writer had a singular experience recently which he has no doubt will strike others as peculiar, even as it did him. He had been engaged for some time in conversation with a Chinese friend, Mr. Wu Ming-shih. The talk had been about the comparative mental condition of the educated Chinaman and the educated foreigner, and we were surprised at the intelligence our friend manifested and the clear distinctions he was able to make. Often he was mistaken in his judgments, and consequently arrived at incorrect conclusions; but his mind, unlike the minds of many Chinese, was open to conviction that there is something worth knowing outside of China and Chinese methods, and his eye would light up with intelligence whenever he got a new idea, no matter what pet theories of his own it might overthrow.

After he left we sat at our desk in a deep study, with forehead on our hands and elbows resting on the desk. In a short time our attention was attracted by the faintest little sound in front, and raising our eyes we saw, sitting on the ink bottle, one of the most peculiar little fellows it has ever been our lot to behold. It was a man in form and figure, face and limb. Between it and a brownie there was no comparison; and a Lilliputian beside it would be a giant, though it was by no means a dwarf. It was the exact counterpart in appearance, even to the complexion and expression, of the young man who had just left the study. Nevertheless, it was scarcely half an inch in length, or would surely not exceed an inch. As is natural under such circumstances, we stared at it for a moment in blank curiosity and surprise. The little creature noticed this surprise, for the faintest shadow of what might be designated an atomic smile began to bloom upon his features, and in a moment he broke into a tiny laugh much like what would be given forth by a necktie phonograph, if such a thing were possible. As is natural, when the pressure of surprise was taken off our organs of speech, as if to make up for lost time, they blurted forth, all in a single breath, the

questions, "Who are you? What are you? Where did you come from? What are you here for?" "Slowly," said he, speaking in the Chinese language, "One question at a time; they will not only last longer, but will be more easily answered." This was said in a voice that was in perfect keeping with his general make-up, and not until it was repeated in his loudest tones was it perceptible to a dull human ear. It made us feel less doubtful of the theory that spiders, bees, and ants may have a method of oral communication which is imperceptible to any organs except those fashioned on the same diminutive pattern as the organs which utter the sound.

"My name," said he, in his loudest and most distinct tones, "is 'Ai Ti-ah,' though I am often called 'T'ung Jen-'rh'—the 'pupil of the eye.' I am what my name implies, an idea. The young man who has just left the room caught a glimpse of me looking out of your eye, as you yourself would look out of a window; and I am here to answer some of the questions which you and that young man were discussing a few moments ago. The brain, as you know, is my home. I live there. You have seen ant hills not larger than a human brain, in which dwell millions of these little creatures, as you call them. They have their cities, their storehouses, their machinery, and their highways. But no ant hill that you have ever seen will in any way compare in the density of its population with an ordinary human brain; and with a well-developed brain nothing that you have ever seen could be used as a comparison. As one of the tendencies of a great city is to draw men and women from every neighborhood with which it is in touch, to increase its population, so we throng the ten thousand nerves which lead, like so many roads, from every square inch of territory on the surface of the body. The nerves are the roads we travel, and the clusters of nerve cells of which the brain is composed are the headquarters to which we all come and from which we are all sent out.

"You, of course," he went on, "are not so familiar with your own brain as I am. You often wonder how the knotty problems of thought are solved. Well, now, I can tell you. It is done by the clusters of brain cells which you call nerve

ganglia. These ganglia hold the same relation to thought which your hand holds to a knot in a string. With one hand, although you have on it five fingers, you cannot easily untie a knot in a string, and so you use both hands to do it. So these clusters of nerve cells are all united, and work together in unraveling the knotty problems of life. Whenever a sensation strikes the nerves—whether it be color, odor, sound, flavor, or solid—it is carried to these nerve clusters and they go to work on it. If it is something with which they are familiar they solve it in an instant and pass it on. For instance, suppose a dog should bite your hand. Your sensory nerve carries the matter to these brain clusters; they solve the matter, decide what to do, send one of us to pull the muscular ropes of your leg, and, in common parlance, you kick the dog. With such common affairs the brain cells have no trouble; but when matters with which they are not familiar come they have to work on them just as you work over the unraveling of a knotted string, the putting together of a puzzle, or the solving of a riddle—or, as a child puts together a block picture or builds a block house, they first find the parts that match. Such is the case in mathematical problems and all problems of reasoning. Part after part is tried, to see whether it fits, and this with you is called comparison, reasoning, and association; but with us it is merely a process of getting together the proper brain cells or combinations.

“Some brains are like some countries, certain parts of which are thickly populated and certain parts are as barren as deserts; or they are like some bodies, certain parts of which are well developed, while other parts are wholly undeveloped. You sometimes say of such heads that they have ‘rooms to let unfurnished,’ and the expression is more appropriate than is often supposed. I have been in a cluster—and I shudder to think of it—where I have been so crowded that I had neither breathing space nor elbow room, while just the next cluster was wholly untenanted, or so sparsely filled that I would have given half I was worth to have been there. And then, again, I have been in places where I would have given the other half I was worth to have some one to communicate with, where I was as lonesome as Robinson Crusoe;

and when, at last, I was sent out I was so poor and emaciated and poorly clad that I had a difficult task to find a place in respectable quarters."

"I am not sure that I understand just what you mean," we interposed.

"O, yes, you do," he answered. "You have heard people express good thoughts in such poor language that no one cared to entertain them. Now, language is our clothing, and what you call magnetism is our life; and, so, when we are sent out unmagnetized and half clad, no matter how beautiful we may be, we are often woefully neglected. 'Fine feathers make fine birds' with us, just as with you. We depend one half on clothing, and the other half on magnetism. Any of us are worth having, if only we are properly clothed, magnetized, and in proper company."

"I think I get your meaning," we said, "but I was just about to inquire whether all ideas are as small as you."

"By no means," he hastened to reply, "though I am a fair size at present. Some are larger, some smaller. Then we vary at different times, according to the quarters we occupy. For instance, what we call a foreign idea shrivels up greatly when it gets into the head of a Chinaman, simply from lack of appreciation and attention, and an opportunity to develop and propagate itself. It is a stranger, and receives only a cold shoulder from all other ideas with which it comes in contact, for it seldom comes in contact with any but enemies, and only gets out by being drawn out. Have you ever tried to introduce foreign inventions into China?" he asked, suddenly. "If you haven't, just try it. Give your carpenter a foreign saw, and see what he does with it." Now, as it happens, we had given our carpenter a good foreign saw, and he hung it up to rust. We gave him a saw-set, which would set the teeth of a saw regularly, and he laid it away, and continued to set his saws with a nick in a file. And so we answered, "Yes, the carpenters do not take to our foreign saws well; probably because they cannot use them so well." "It is the same with all kinds of foreign inventions," he retorted. "Axes, hatchets, chisels, hammers, lathes, plows, cars, ships, guns, and everything that takes thought and reason to make, or that takes

thought and reason to understand and manipulate, shares the same fate as a saw. No matter how noble or useful the thought may have originally been, it shrivels up to almost nothing in the Chinese mind."

"You spoke a moment ago about propagating yourself; what did you mean by it?"

"Just what I said," he answered. "I have never yet been in a brain in which I did not leave a family. But you know this as well as I do. It has long been a proverb with you that 'you never know a thing yourself until you have taught it to some one else.' If we have any attention whatever we begin to propagate as soon as we enter the brain, and nothing that you know of increases with anything like the ratio with which we increase in a fertile brain, if we have half a chance. Then there are times when we wither away to a shadow in a brain into which we happen to have been forced and where we have to remain until some one rescues us. In such a brain we only leave a sort of a shadow of ourselves, which will probably never appear on this side the grave. Tell a Westerner something new, or show him some new invention that makes labor more easy or more effective, and at once he copies and improves it. No product of thought is too difficult for him to understand, too intricate for him to work out, or too complicated for him to use. As soon as an idea enters his head he furnishes it with good quarters, gives it all his attention, and it is almost no time till he has more ideas on that one subject than the man from whom he got it. What about the Chinaman? He looks at it with open-mouthed wonder or self-satisfied indifference, but he is without either the ability or desire to appreciate, improve, understand, or use it. Nor is this confined to foreign inventions. His 'harps and lutes' are little if any better than those invented by Fu-hsi; his wagons little better than those of Huang-ti; his compass no better than that of Chou Kung; his money no better than that of two thousand years ago; his medical science little in advance of Hua T'o; and his official gazette is printed from blocks no better, if as good, as they were a thousand years ago. Indeed, in all experimental and practical science, where anything like attention, reason, imagination, or invention is required, he is

little if any in advance of the men of the age which gave him what he possesses. Yes, we propagate ourselves, but we cannot propagate in a Chinese mind, for his mind is like his field, worth but little unless fertilized, and the Chinese pay little attention to mental fertilizing."

"You were talking a few moments ago about habit, and you simply regarded it as the 'ordinary course of conduct of a person.' Now, as you see conduct, which is about your best method of judging, that seems to be a fairly good definition; but it does not explain what habit is. Habit," he repeated—and he heaved the tiniest little sigh—"habit is the bane of our existence. Your highest idea of rapidity is a flash of lightning, but that is nothing to the rapidity with which we travel through people's fingers and brains in some classical music. Habit—habit is a path through the brain, a well-worn path, a path that is so well worn through those nerve clusters that we never have to stop for direction or turn the switch from a sensory to a motor nerve. Why, if it makes your head swim to watch the fingers of a pianist when he is keyed up to his highest pitch in his fastest music, what would it do if you had to go from the music to his eye, from his eye through his brain, down into his spinal cord, and out to the tip of his finger with every separate key he strikes, without making the mistake of getting into the wrong finger? That is what we call rapid transit, and it can only be done where there is a path worn through the brain. Now you can easily see that a brain which is crossed and recrossed by habit paths is not a good place for generating ideas—no better than a field crossed and recrossed by donkey paths is for growing wheat. The paths must be dug up and the donkeys kept out if one expects a crop of grain from such a field; and it is just so with habit. Your old proverb says, 'Man is a bundle of habits;' but I say, Alas for such a man!"

"You do not mean to say," we objected, "that all which we study so thoroughly as to make it a part of our mental store by this fact of its familiarity becomes useless because it is habitual?"

"By no means," he hastened to answer. "Usable knowledge is usable knowledge; habit is habit. Matters must be familiar be-

fore they are usable ; but it is when they become so familiar that they pass through the mind without so much as your consciousness—without either making or leaving an impression—that they become habit. For instance, I suppose you do not know which sleeve of your coat or which shoe you put on first in the morning when dressing, and yet if you will take the trouble to notice I have no doubt you will find that you invariably do it exactly the same." [Since attention was thus called to the matter we have noticed that we always begin with the right foot and the right hand, but have found that some of our friends as invariably begin with the left.] "I have known persons who, having gone to a dinner party not fully dressed and being directed upstairs to finish their toilet, from the very habit of retiring so often at about that hour of the evening and under such circumstances, have undressed and gone to bed. We simply pass through that kind of a brain without opportunity for either propagation or communication. We have the same old companions year after year, and there is neither place nor desire for new ones. I do not need to tell you that the Chinese have such a habit-encumbered mind ; they call it *kuei chü*. The man who is set apart for a scholar has certain definite laws and rules, and he is a scholar only as he surpasses in these. The *San Tzu Ch'ing*, *Chien Tzu Wen*, and *Po Chia Hsing* are the first to wear their paths through his mind. They are followed by the Four Books and Five Classics, while at the same time he writes the standard poetry and classical essays, and habituates himself to the standard historical anecdotes and philosophical sayings in such a way that all he has to do is to begin to speak, and it goes itself without further attention. If he happens to be a farmer, a mechanic, an artist, or a manufacturer he is modeled on the same plan. His brain is so incommoded by habit-paths as to wholly incapacitate him for anything like invention or originality, and he goes on plowing with the same kind of a plow as that used by Shun, writing with the same kind of a brush as that used by Meng T'ien, on the same kind of paper as that manufactured by T'sai Lun, and with ink similar to that used by the inventor of that useful but inconvenient article."

"What do you mean by saying that the Chinese are in-

capacitated for anything like invention or originality?" we asked of our little friend; for we became more interested as he began to apply the theories he had been explaining.

"I mean exactly what I say. The nature of their education is calculated to do nothing more than pour into them. They simply fill the mental storehouse with material, a large part of which is useless rubbish. Those nerve clusters which have to do with memory are necessarily developed to such a degree, by the committing of the various primers and classics, that before it is possible to complete these they have gotten beyond the age for beginning on reason and imagination, even if they had any studies prepared to begin with, which they have not. And so, while the memory clusters are densely populated, the reason clusters are wholly untenanted. Now, as everyone loves to do what he can do best, by the very *vis inertia* they continue to store away the accumulated ignorance and blunders of the past, without any efforts at production; and every generation becomes less and less capable of distinguishing what was the original fact and what the accumulated rubbish of that which they have been learning. You know it to be a fact that large people have large children; that muscular people tend to have muscular children; that fleshy people have fleshy children; and that people with large eyes, large noses, round faces, or curly hair tend to have children with like characteristics. This is especially true in the realm of the nerves and the brain. Children not only inherit the constitution and disposition of their parents, but from the moment they open their eyes and ears they begin to imbibe their parents' thoughts and become more fixed in their parents' tendencies. You know also the evil result of the constant intermarriage of intimate relations. The mixture of blood is a *conditio sine qua non* of perfect mental and physical development, and it is as much more so in the realm of thought as the mental is more important than the physical. This is well illustrated in the instance of the Anglo-Saxon race. This, however, the Chinese have determinedly refused to do, contenting themselves with standing at the head of a few little half-civilized nations, rather than take a position of equality among the nations of the world. China has refused, in her conceit, to accept any-

thing from those above her, until the little, old ideas now communicated from father to son have run out, like certain vegetable tubers, for want of a change of soil.

"How do I come to learn about brain heredity? From the simple fact that I have been so often communicated from father to son. I see the brain as you see the face. Just as you see the form and features of father and mother repeated in the child, so I see the brain of father and mother reproduced in the son, and as is the brain so, to a large extent, is the mind. This family likeness by no means ends in face, form, and expression. It may not only be followed through centuries of family traits, but in the same way it enters into national life and character. This is not new to you. You have observed it throughout all history. It was very marked in the conservative Jew, less marked in the less conservative Greek, and still less in the much-traveled Roman. It is almost destroyed in Western countries at present, because of the constant interchange of thought, commodity, and intercourse. But it is very marked in China. Since each country is simply a family on a large scale, if she shuts herself out from other families, refuses to marry into them and exchange thought and commodity with them, she develops generation after generation of family traits which not only interfere with her symmetrical growth, but become shackles upon her hands and feet. This is the condition of China and of the Chinese brain and mind to-day. The Chinaman's nose is almost as characteristic as his queue, and his brain is certainly as marked as either. He has an atmosphere about him which will require a large amount of intercourse and education to neutralize. Nevertheless, just as a reputation that is won by many acts may be lost by one, so family traits which have required generations to develop under proper conditions may be obliterated in a single generation, as has been the case in Japan.

"You were wondering a moment ago whether much could be done to change the mind and character of persons who are full-grown. You know the difficulty of straightening the bones of persons who have attained to manhood. Such persons may develop bone and muscle, and add to both their beauty and efficiency, but as a tree grows it remains. What a

man is when he attains his growth, except under extraordinary circumstances, he remains all his life. What is put into the first of life is put into the whole of life, and, other things being equal, men get the trend of their mental life by the time they have finished their physical growth. The world has known some very startling exceptions to this rule, but a careful examination will show that they are exceptions, and not the rule. You know the difficulty," he said, looking at us with a minute twinkle in his tiny black eye, as if he was about to offer an unanswerable argument, "you know the difficulty of trying to make preachers of the Gospel out of men who have grown to manhood with no education except that of the Chinese classics, no matter how good that education may be. Indeed, the better it is, the more difficulty you find in making them into preachers of the Gospel. Even a change of heart, though this is the greatest change that can come to a man, will scarcely counterbalance the tendencies of youth and education in the atmosphere with which he is surrounded. This change must come in youth; he must be educated in a different direction; the atmosphere about him must be changed by the introduction of the products of the reason and imagination of other lands; ideas of a kind to which he has never been accustomed must strike nerves which have lain dormant in him and his ancestors for generations, and excite to action and stimulate to growth nerve clusters which have thus far never been an integral part of his constitution, before he can be made to feel that the world without is greater than the world within, and that his ignorance is greater than his knowledge.

"The condition of his affections is little, if any, different from that of his intellect. I was impressed very much with this, not long since. I was sent to the brain of a Chinaman a few days ago, and while there I met a little idea that was different from most Chinese ideas and somewhat similar to the representatives of conjugal affection I have constantly met in the brains of foreigners. I thought I recognized him as one of the affections, but was not certain; and so I asked him who he was. And I give you his own words, which I assure you were uttered with a doleful sigh: 'I belong to the family of Affections, and to that branch called Conjugal Affection. In

other branches of our family, that is, Filial Affection and Parental Affection, I have known some very robust representatives; but we of the conjugal branch are all as undersized and undeveloped as you see I am. Indeed, though I am not a hundredth part as large as you are, I am still one of the largest and best developed I have ever known in our branch of the family. You see I am both deformed and dwarfed. This was caused by the unfortunate method of conjugal selection when I was born; and, since then, I have always been more than half starved for the benefit of others. Those who might develop us to a fair size are so hampered by custom that they dare not allow us to exercise except indoors.’”

The little fellow ended up with a sigh, as if deploring the lot of the little companion whose unfortunate condition he had been relating, and then continued: “The religious nature of the Chinaman is quite as unevenly developed as his intellectual and affectional. We have just seen how his brain is injured by habit-paths; how his memory is developed at the expense of his reason; and his filial, at the expense of his conjugal, affection. In the same way his moral nature is developed at the expense of his religious nature. He is a moral monstrosity, so far as theory goes. From Lao Tzu he learned that man should ‘love his enemies;’ from Confucius, that man ‘should not do to others what he would not have them do to him;’ by Mo Tzu he was taught the lesson of ‘universal love;’ and he learned to repeat them all. There have been those from the beginning, no doubt, who have tried not to do to others what they would not have others do to them; and, because of the moral character thus attained, they have merited and received the praise of succeeding generations. But how far short they have fallen of those who, in addition to their moral maxims, have had the help of revelation, will be readily seen by even a superficial view of the teachings of their best men. Confucius denied that you should love your enemies. ‘Love your friends,’ said he, ‘and treat your enemies justly.’ He praised the liar who came in late from the battlefield, because his lies savored of humility, thereby putting humility above truth; and what he taught he practiced, for he was not loath to deceive those

who came to call on him whom he did not wish to see. He was imitated in this by Mencius, when the disciples of Mo Tzu came to call on him; for Mo Tzu's 'universal love,' said Mencius, would bring men into 'the state of a beast.' From the time of these sages until the present in the matter of veracity the Chinaman has lost all shame. He loves morality and moral maxims, but he lacks that subtle power which only God's Spirit can give, and is thus incapable of putting his moral maxims to a practical use. Of God he knows nothing. His religious nature—that part of his nature which should lead him to reach out after God and heaven and immortality—is almost, if not wholly, undeveloped. 'Living, he lives; dead, he is dead,' is a proverb that is in the mouth of men and women alike; and while in theory he refuses to adopt the sentiments of the ancient Epicurean philosopher, Yang Chu, yet he indicates by his life and talk that he believes what that philosopher taught, that 'a man may live as a Yao or a Shun, or as a Chieh or a Chou, but when he dies he is nothing but rotten bones in either case. In fact, there is no difference between the bones of a dead saint or a dead rascal. Wherefore, in life let us attend to the things of life; why should we trouble our heads about what is to take place after death?' That is as far as he has gone in his philosophy of a future life. 'Alive he is alive, dead he is dead.'"

Just here the little creature took on that frightened look which is often seen on a squirrel when he sees a man approaching with a gun, jumped down from the ink bottle, and scrambled up over the writer's shoulder and into his ear as quick as a flash of lightning. And, as we turned our head to see who shook us, our wife, with a candle in her hand, said in a playful tone, "Don't you know it is twelve o'clock, and you have been sleeping at your desk? I can see my image in your eye." But we did not tell her what we now record, that the little fellow who had just run into our ear had perhaps climbed up to look out of the window.

Isaac A. Headland.

ART. IX.—THE TRUE METHOD OF MISSIONARY
PROGRESS.

It will be found, in comparing the great existing religions, that each of them has some marked point of divergence which when closely interrogated is seen to be an abnormally developed phase of some of the universal bases of religious thinking or fragments of primal revelation, as the case may be, upon which all religions are built. Each faith has brought a fragment into dominating boldness, and builds itself around this as a central proposition. Admitted by all, but slurred over by the others, this fragment becomes for the particular faith its great central truth, often overaccented, and even by its disproportion so destroying symmetry as to seemingly work harm rather than good. The reason for the religion's being and sway, however, is the fragment of truth at its core, and here is the key to its power over the hearts of men.

When any such system comes in contact with Christianity the first disposition is to insolently reject any affiliation with Christianity, because of the obtrusion upon the vision of the alien faith of the points wherein there is disagreement. Christianity is a doughty adversary, and in the conflict of ideas that ensues it is not long before the central feature of the non-Christian faith with its disproportion and abnormal accent is seen to be a kindred truth to some essential teaching of Christianity. The effect is to produce at once a mutual feeling of kinship, and, rightly used, it is a bridge over which the adherents of the alien faith easily pass as individuals to Christianity. Still more important, however, it is the point of contact through which Christianity most profoundly affects, and ultimately promises to control, the alien faith. It is the place in the wild olive where the graft takes place which will change the nature of the tree and the fruit it is to bear.

For illustration—which in some cases approaches demonstration—of how Christianity, when thus it understands and is understood by any alien faith, begins to fraternize in the line where kinship of truth appears, and through this contact of fraternity profoundly modifies and promises wholly to recon-

struct the other faiths, vitalizing what is best in them and putting them to extruding the weak and the base in them, let us briefly examine some of the great non-Christian faiths of the world. If, in the case of many of them, it should be found that they have scarcely, if at all, felt the impact of Christianity, it must be remembered that political Christianity has not been exactly fashioned after the pattern of the Sermon on the Mount. That the alien religionists of Europe and Asia have had but small opportunity to learn the real teaching and spirit of Jesus, and have not therefore been best situated to illustrate the molding power of Christian truth, will be admitted. Indeed, the wonder will deepen in the observant mind that under such unfavorable conditions such vast results have already been achieved.

There are eight great religions—Christianity and seven others which have some degree of kinship with her. For we perhaps all recognize that what in any measure tends to create in men an other-worldliness and keeps alive a spirit of religious dependence and a sense, however vague, of something without us that is greater than we, cannot be begotten wholly of evil, however much it may be deformed by evil. Religion, any religion, is primarily of God and is in the main helpful. There are seven chief non-Christian religions, each of them in a sense begotten of some truth, though deformed by error—three Aryan faiths, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism; two Mongolian, Taoism and Confucianism; and two Semitic, Judaism and Mohammedanism. Of these the writer selects Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, for with these Christian missions are in the main concerned. Where we examine these systems closely and sympathetically we find that each of them is built around one foundation truth, which it holds in common with Christianity, though it has so accented and abnormally developed some particular phase of this truth as to obscure it and, what is more, to cause it to work moral harm. Friendly acquaintance with Christianity, wherever there have been opportunity and time for it, begins at this spot to develop a point of contact. Underneath all verbal oppositions, national and race rivalries, the alien faith and Christianity draw together.

Through the point of contact the vitalizing force of Christianity passes into the alien faith. However long it may be before this neighborly contact begins, once it is had the most astonishing changes are immediately set in motion. These changes, however, call for close observation because they are disguised by the fact that the old vocabulary of the non-Christian faith does not alter. Long after the ideas themselves have changed the old vocabulary will be retained, partly because the changes come almost unconsciously and partly because national and race prejudices prevent frank acknowledgment. But the old terms have new contents, and, what is more, the people who use them will sometimes be found to earnestly agree—and perhaps without conscious dishonesty—that the terms always held these new contents. It matters not; the facts bear out the assertion that through some one point of contact the whole religious thinking of alien faiths is being steadily brought more and more to Christian standards and ideals. Nor are the people of these faiths on the one hand, and the active missionaries of Christianity on the other, the best judges of what is transpiring. Their very nearness to the contest in which they are engaged forbids that theirs should be the clearest vision.

But let the facts be examined sympathetically. Take Confucianism. The heart of its teachings is, perhaps, the value of external morality for purposes of stable and good government. What Confucius impressed upon China was the ethics of government. To secure these ethics for stable government he sought to found them on a deep veneration of the past and to multiply ceremony so to invest government, both in the family and State, with the dignity and awe that elaborate ceremonials, gravely discharged, create. Confucius was not a mere formalist. His thought at bottom is the value of religion as a basis for government, the value of patent morality as the reality of religion, the value of ceremonies in adding dignity and impressiveness and in hedging about all outward conduct. And the proof of the vitality of his teaching he demonstrated as a chief magistrate, for in the town he governed property became absolutely safe and public virtue was conspicuous. Nor does the solidarity and vitality of the Chi-

nese empire fail yet to proclaim the value of the essential truths around which the sage builded. When neighborliness shall have given them opportunity to get closer together Confucianism will find that Christianity agrees with her in teaching the value of religion as a basis for good government; for, though this idea may have been overlooked by Christianity, there is no thoughtful Christian of our day but sees the teaching is there and that the time has fully come for re-asserting this truth. The recent annals of our great cities may not be those to which we would invite the gaze of China, but they only the more deeply stir us to remember that Luther's work was an "epic and a tragedy"—an epic in the liberation of the individual, a tragedy in the sacrifice of the community good to a hyper-development of individualism. This, however, is not the teaching of Christianity. "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." To do her best work in China, Christianity must recover the teachings of her Founder in Christendom, must see and emphasize his whole truth—the truth of the kingdom as well as the truth of the individual. What Confucianism will then learn, nay, what she is already learning, is the value of the individual below, whose voluntary self-surrender makes the stability of the community and the infinite value of the God above—whose will the individual first yields to, in self-surrender, that he may there get the motive and strength for the voluntary yielding of himself when the community good calls for it. And all this, in some small measure, is what is happening to-day in China.

We turn to an Asiatic faith which is assuredly widely divergent from Confucianism—Hinduism. What is the central thought of Hinduism? Is it not the immanence of the gods—whether the worshiper shall philosophically hold these many to be but varying forms of the One, or, as is more usual in fact, the many appear as each one ruling in his own department of life? India is oppressed and overladen with gods. Every high hill and every green tree, the rivers, streams, the fields and jungles, the dawn of morning, the dusk of evening, the very circumambient air are all peopled with gods, and all

life grows to be one long burdensome ritual whereby reverence is paid to the gods, their anger deprecated, their favor won. Where in Christianity is the allied truth with which we would expect to attract the Hindu and form the point of contact? Will it not be in the immanence of God, in the communion of the Holy Spirit, in whom we "live, and move, and have our being?" May there not be wisdom in the advice of our advanced Hindu friends who say to us, "Make your religion more spiritual and less rigidly dogmatic. Present to us the Gospel of John, rather than the Epistle to the Romans;" and, if we have not put this feature of Christianity in the foreground, has not Hinduism found the presence of a mystical spirit in Christ, and have there not been a fraternizing of the faiths and a very marked effect upon the alien faith from this intercourse? In estimating the outcomes we must be careful to make allowance for strong national prejudice. India begins to feel acutely the fact of her subject condition. There is a growing spirit of nationalism. This leads, and rightly, to the putting of large values on all things "Indian." The more difficult it is to maintain the realities of these values in other domains the more ardent the attempts to assert them in the realms of philosophy and religion. And yet, even in these realms, while stoutly denying in word how largely in fact Hinduism has been affected by contact with Christianity, let the various reforming cults of Hinduism bear witness. What, for instance, is the meaning of the Brahmo-Somaj? Is it not an attempt of the Hindu mind to retain the vocabulary and outer forms, in part, of Indian religious worship and yet import the spiritual teachings of Jesus? Whence comes the sloughing of idolatry, the struggle to escape the bonds of caste, the disesteem of mere ritual, the high values put upon prayer as communing with the divine? Are not all these the tribute of the Hindu mind to the presence of Christian thought, which has reached it through the bond of sympathy which each has discovered in the other, even though the ardent disputants of both may not have clearly recognized this bond? But, if it be said that the Brahmo-Somaj is a small and powerless cult which has practically died in its birth, it may be replied that its concessions to Christianity were not large

enough, and that its efforts to grant similar concessions to other faiths all around made it too variegated a system to be understood by the common people or to exert much influence where understood. Besides, let it be remembered that there is a vast variety of reforming schools in Hinduism, that in a single phrase there is a widespread attempt to present to all inquirers from without a "resuscitated Vedism." The Vedic literature of earliest Hinduism is being carefully scanned, and all that is best is eagerly produced, while the effort to put new ethical and spiritual meanings into the old poetry is clearly to be seen. Hinduism feels itself put upon the defensive, grows apologetic, and there is even some attempt to ascribe morals to the gods. In a word, through her thirst for companionship with the divine, Hinduism has grown toward Christianity, and in the contact is beginning to grow conscious of sin and to long for holiness; for Christianity is holding before her the vision of Isaiah, "I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." It is this growing vision of a personal, holy God that is causing India with troubled heart and disquieted spirit to listen eagerly as the Christian preacher in her midst cries, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world!"

Buddhism, again, has been described as a Protestant Hinduism. Its central problem is that of evil. Inherent evil spreads a pall of darkness over all life. Its chief doctrine is the impossibility of escaping the moral responsibility of previous being (karma) without the destruction of selfhood. Perplexed and baffled by the dark problem of sin Buddha sought relief in soul suicide. Does not Christianity also address itself to the dark problem of sin? In the two systems "sin" may mean different things, but in both it is a dark, brooding evil, and has as a consequence torment and disaster; and just here they stand together. And from their community of belief and feeling here Christianity has already begun to strangely

affect Buddhism, for intelligent Buddhism is beginning to read into "karma" the fact of personality and to find more definitely in "Amitabha Buddha," the "immeasurable light," the counterpart of Jehovah. To-day in Japan—the only country where any considerable Buddhism is in neighborly contact with Christianity—the system is particularly active, again finds use for pulpits from which to preach Buddhist sermons, and creates Buddhist Young Men's Associations, Buddhist Sunday schools, and a literature which dismisses the original follies and the accretions of Buddhism, while it sets forth what is holiest and best in the faith. Shall this be put down to the mere exigencies of necessary defense, and not, in part at least, be attributed to a new life being infused by Christianity into the old faith, extruding the weak and foolish and reinvigorating the worthy and the true in it?

The least hopeful of the religions, because the least disposed to be neighborly, is Mohammedanism. "The Moslem," says Mohammed, "is the true worshiper of God. When men dispute with you, say 'I am a Moslem.'" To hear attentively the other side is not a Moslem virtue, and yet, more than any of the alien faiths, Mohammedanism holds community with Christianity. Born of Judaism and tinged with Christianity, this Arab daughter holds the unity of God and the central doctrines of prayer, providence, resurrection, and retribution. Repelled, however, by the gross idolatry of the Eastern Church, which alone he knew, Mohammed conceived of God more austere than the Jew. "Allah-il-Allah," he cried, "Akbar Allahu," "God is God, great is God, the sovereign, majestic, mighty ruler." Of all the ninety-nine names by which the devout Moslem addresses God, while he counts his beads, no one of them is "Father." What result, if any, has accrued from contact with Christianity? In Europe practically none, and this for two reasons: first, the Christianity in and around the Ottoman empire is itself so vitiated and corrupt as to prejudice rather than win; and, second, the Moslem in Europe is an armed invader who needs to keep his sword at hand, if he is to stay at all. His unquiet Christian subjects, his hungry-eyed neighbors have not exactly assaulted him with arguments theological. There has been a lack of

neighborly contact. The only way the Turk feels Christendom is as a goad at the end of a longer or shorter stick. But in British India, where a vast section of Mohammedanism is in more or less peaceful subjection to a Christian power, there has been afforded for the first time an opportunity for friendly contact with a pure type of Christianity, as represented by the teachings of the Protestant missionaries. Even here the circumstances have not been the most favorable. The Mohammedan has not yet forgotten that he is a dispossessed ruler and that the white Christian is not only a "Kaffir," an infidel, but also a victorious rival. Even under such unfavorable conditions Christianity has begun to affect Mohammedanism favorably. Under the leadership of the late Syed Mohammed there is a growing reform in Indian Mohammedanism. The seat of this reform is in a college at Aligarh, in Northwest India. The literature of the movement is as yet scant; but it has already secured a following, and seems to dismiss polygamy and many of the objectionable features of the Koran. It also repudiates the legendary miracles attributed to Mohammed, while it receives him as a prophet, nor does it meanwhile stint admiration for Jesus Christ. Unorthodox, solemnly repudiated by the more bigoted Mohammedans, this sect increases in influence and may yet profoundly affect Mohammedanism. True to its theory this reform repudiates any connection with Christianity, and its advocates call themselves "Naturees," professing to be guided in their reform largely by the light of natural religion. The fact is, however, that with a growing horizon the fierce edge of Mohammedanism is softened among the "Naturees" by the unconsciously appropriated spirit and teaching of Jesus.

If, on close examination, this briefly outlined theory prove to have any degree of truth, it will lead us to conclusions which should hold in them largest inspiration, both for deepening of life in the home Church and for our missionary encouragement in foreign lands. (1) Contact with other religions will force us out of any partial experiences and statements of Christianity born of our own race or national subjectivity. In seeking for community of truth and bonds of sympathy the other religions force upon our attention the

need for a rounded system of faith. We shall learn that our religion holds wider universality of truth than we ourselves have apprehended. . A world-wide missionary Christianity will therefore be a whole Christianity, and in teaching we shall ourselves be instructed.

(2) We shall more hopefully forecast the outcomes of Christian missionary effort. The battle is joined. The task before us is stupendous; the difficulties are very great. The results have not been altogether encouraging. Nor need we wonder at this. Theological argument, to which we have been largely confined, is, as we know, of little avail. When the theological argument is between peoples who differ in early training, in the cast of their thought, and in their point of view the value is exceedingly small. But there is, and there must in the end be, this final method whereby victory shall be gained. When two religions, each containing some common truth—the one professing to have all truth, the other granted to have some measure of truth—when two such religions come together and live together in peace, whether one shall make much inroad upon the other by calm temperate argument or not, the very presence of the one will and must leaven the other. Side by side, unconsciously, the nobler spirits of the one will be attracted to the purer, nobler, and more spiritual forms of truth held by the other. We believe profoundly that there is in the heart of man, when unstirred by prejudice and not blinded by passion, a longing for the best God has for him. Remove from men as far as possible all provocations of religious strife and all race and national contradictions. Let him who holds the larger truth deal lovingly and forbearingly with his brother man. He can afford to wait; let him not then seek to force his weaker brother to travel more rapidly than his weakness will allow. Then, while he in spirit, in temper, in conduct illustrates the larger truth he holds, the Holy Spirit will create in his weaker brother a longing for the knowledge and the strength he sees in his more enlightened neighbor, and thus almost unobserved works the most valuable missionary propagandism. Let the matter not be misunderstood. While the largest hope for the spread of Christianity is in its indirect, rather than in its direct, prop-

agandism she must ceaselessly endeavor to create in all the lands of the world indigenous native churches; for it will be through the native churches, taken from among the peoples of the various lands, that Christianity will most readily find the point of contact, the bond of sympathy, and will best illustrate the superiority of Christ's personality and teaching. While at the beginning the reproach of foreignism may be brought against the missionary camp, after a native Church has been formed and begins in its own movement to add to or subtract from the missionary's statement of Christianity there will be evolved in each land a native Christian Church which, in sympathy with its surroundings and in touch with those mysterious but very real inward tendencies that differentiate each race from the other, will produce a type of Christianity which will best commend the Gospel to the nation at large; there will be seen a world-wide Christianity with unity in essentials and widest variations in all else.

And, (3) there should be hung up over the portals of every missionary society, "Wanted, men and women of largest caliber and warm hearts, with passionate love for Jesus Christ, and with great hospitality of mind and heart for the opinions and beliefs of those whose training differ by a world's diameter—men and women who can be trusted to have an insistent fidelity in essentials, emphasizing conduct, breathing the spirit of largest love, and at leisure from themselves in all nonessentials." With such men and women leading the infant churches in all the lands of the earth Christianity could not but make large and direct gains, and still more largely influence the nations of the world, indirectly, by leavening their religious thought. In a measure all three of these propositions are already working facts, and the future is rosy with hope. All the thinking and living of this world is being swept up into the teaching and life of Jesus.

W. F. Othman

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

PROFESSOR JOHN TYNDALL, in his essay on "The Scientific Use of the Imagination," expressed his admiration for the courage of the clergy because they show a manful willingness to engage in open contest with fair weapons over the conclusions and theories of science. Speaking as a scientist he says:

The clergy of England have nerve enough to listen to the strongest views which anyone amongst us would care to utter; and they invite, if they do not challenge, men of the most decided opinions to state and stand by those opinions in open court. No theory upsets them. Let the most destructive hypothesis be stated only in the language current among gentlemen, and they look it in the face. They forego alike the thunders of heaven and the terrors of the other place, smiting the theory, if they do not like it, simply with honest secular strength. In fact, the greatest cowards of the present day are not to be found among the clergy, but within the pale of science itself.

WHATEVER theories men may formulate of the nature, mode, and extent of inspiration, the fact will remain manifest, and we may say self-demonstrated, that the Bible is a divinely and supernaturally inspired book. It is simply impossible that its authority should ever be set aside, because its contents are of such quality as to force upon men the conviction of its divineness. The sinful and disobedient feel the sword of its truth, piercing even to the dividing of the joints and the marrow; and the upright and pure feel that it satisfies the highest ideals conceivable by the best man at his best. This heart-searching quality, this ethical pungency, and this unequalled spiritual loftiness prove it divine. An authority not to be contemned or resisted resides in this manifest divineness of the Holy Scriptures. The Reformers held that impregnable position, and in agreement with this the Westminster divines wisely defined inspiration as that quality of Holy Scripture which proves it to be the word of God.

THE following words from so eminent and competent a scholar as Sir Monier-Williams are timely, weighty, and authoritative:

Only one name is given among men whereby we may be saved. No other name, no other Saviour, more suited to India, to Persia, to China, to Arabia, is ever mentioned—is ever hinted at. "What," says the enthusiastic student of the science of religion, "do you seriously mean to sweep away as so much worthless waste paper all these thirty stately volumes of sacred books of the East just published by the University of Oxford?" No, not at all; nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we welcome these books. We ask every missionary to study their contents and thankfully lay hold of whatsoever things are true and of good report in them. But we warn him that there can be no greater mistake than to force these non-Christian Bibles into conformity with some scientific theory of development and then point to the Christian's Holy Bible as the crowning product of religious evolution. So far from this, these non-Christian Bibles are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of true light and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left side of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side—all by itself, all alone, and with a wide gap between.

LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY.

Few things are more misleading and injurious than misnomers, which are a source of endless mental confusion and moral depravation. Liberal Christianity is such a misnomer—frequently a mere alias to conceal the identity of infidelity and rationalism. Much so-called Free Thinking reminds Tennyson's readers of his expressive line:

Freedom free to slay itself, and dying while they shout her name.

The liberality of liberal Christianity consists chiefly in giving clean away for nothing much, and sometimes all, that is really Christian. The teaching of its various apostles varies in form, but is uniform in its direction and drift as well as in its essentially skeptical quality. The Bible is denied to be exceptionally inspired. The miraculous is ruled out as forbidden on grounds metaphysical, scientific, and, some say, even on moral grounds, being therefore, for manifold reasons, too absurd to be entertained for one moment by enlightened minds. Judgment is pronounced *a priori* against the possibility of supernatural revelation or a superhuman Christ; and it is declared, in defiance or disregard of all evidence, that no amount of proof can make such things credible. Undesired evidence is shut out with much the same spirit as controlled the juror who in the middle of a case asked the court to excuse him from further listening, inasmuch as he had already made up his mind and wished to protect it from being influenced by subsequent testimony. No evidence of divine communications, interventions, or mani-

festations is regarded as having any weight. No explanation of the existence of anything is found except by going back along the order of nature, as through a closed and buried conduit, to one inconceivably remote hypothetical fountain-head. Nothing has come from the hand of Deity, unless, perchance, the primal germ or germs hid in the original fire-mist from which the universe is imagined to have developed. Since that beginning all on earth is unbroken and unaided natural evolution; and if in heaven or elsewhere there be any God he is retired, reticent, unknown, and unknowable. Monad, mollusk, mammal, man, by purely natural derivation, is reported to be the history of ascending vital order. Adam is declared to be an impossibility. The Bible account of the fall of man is absolutely false; it cannot be even allegorically true, for man's lowest condition was his primitive state. Original righteousness was rudimentary and infinitesimal. The human race began as beastly savages, scarcely distinguishable from brutes. Revelation is impossible. No message comes from above. The voice of the Lord was never heard among the trees of any garden. No law was given to Moses on the quaking mount. No prophet was ever commissioned to announce, "Thus saith the Lord." Heaven never "peeps through the curtain of the dark" to say anything articulate or audible, either to warn the sinner or to encourage the saint. No divine Son of God has come to earth to take upon himself our nature. Bethlehem shepherds never saw and heard a company of angels overhead. John baptizing at the fords of the Jordan saw no dove descend upon a holy head. No voice from the unseen was heard on any mount of transfiguration, nor did Moses and Elias show themselves. No angel ever sat in an abandoned tomb and said, "He is not here, he is risen." All that man knows is what he has discovered solely by his own efforts. All that he has become is by a merely natural unfolding of innate, inherited potentialities. Positive authentic knowledge of God is nowhere to be found. The original germ which possibly came from his hand knew him not, for it did not know how to know anything; and since then he has not been seen or heard of, so that the atheist knows as much about him as anybody does. The theories favored, or at least tolerated, by many "liberal Christian" teachers incline more and more to treat all supernatural history as legendary. And if at present they stop somewhere

short of such sweeping, blunt, and brutal denials of the supernatural as we have above put into words, nevertheless the drift is unmistakably toward comprehensive and remorseless negation. Doctrines not essentially unlike those which we have quoted plow their way like glaciers into the Happy Valley of our Christian faith, chilling and clay-coloring the streams which make it glad, freezing and crushing all life and beauty which they touch, and threatening not to leave one bluebell, spear of wheat, or blade of grass, but to render that sweet, peaceful, and fruitful vale forever uninhabitable for the human soul.

The most deadly assaults upon evangelical Christianity are those made with studious deliberation, scientific coolness, and the calm dignity of learned self-assurance. It is not the noisy, crackling tail-end of the infidel *crotalus*, shaking its rattles, stirring the gravel, raising the dust, and attracting casual public attention, that does the damage; rather it is the quiet scholarly end, where the brain is and the fangs are, secreting venom and injecting a fatal poison into the human circulation; not the glib-tongued vociferation of a blatant blasphemer, filling his pockets by making gaping groundlings laugh with his coarse and lying caricature of Christian doctrine, but grave, dignified, and erudite rationalists with their subtle and mischievous theories and naturalistic interpretations undermining the foundations of our religion.

One of the weapons of the rationalism with which liberal Christianity consorts is a destructive biblical criticism. So far as rationalizing critics are intelligent and use the resources and methods of scholarship, they can be suitably and adequately dealt with and defeated only by superior or at least equal information and acumen. The battle must, in the nature of the case, be fought in the direction and on the ground whence the assault is made. This can be done only by faithful and trusty as well as thoroughly trained and practiced Christian scholars, studying the Bible along precisely the same lines as the hostile critics pursue, asking the same questions, weighing the same materials, traversing the same fields, but repelling the assault by disproving the conclusions reached and affirmed by such critics, and showing that the materials used to discredit the Bible do rather confirm and strengthen it. The situation does not preclude but imperatively enjoins upon Christian scholars the most exhaustive study of all questions under discussion touching

place of origin, date of composition, authorship, and character of the books of the Bible, their divine and human elements, their inspiration and authority, considering in reference to each book its particular purpose and method, the ideas and circumstances of the period of its origin, its unity or compositeness, and all similar inquiries which can possibly contribute to a full and correct knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. An enormous responsibility rests upon evangelical biblical critics. The searching study of the Bible by the friendly and the hostile, ever keener and more nearly exhaustive, engaging the intelligence of the world more and more, will go in all centuries to come as for centuries past. On the part of Christian scholars it needs to be conducted with caution as well as with thoroughness; with extreme care to be led into no error which may be as a little rift within the lute that by and by will make the music of the Gospel mute, to make no mistake which shall fracture, rupture, or fray out the supernaturalness of Christianity. The critics who handle the Bible should remember that they are handling the hope of the world, the very life of the human race. The janitor of a New York hospital submitted to an operation for the removal of a splintered and diseased rib; the surgeon's knife slipped a little, enough to puncture certain tissues, with the result that in a few minutes the patient on the operating table was dead. It is delicate and dangerous business where a single slip may prove fatal. Biblical criticism is that sort of business. The shape of the emergency created by destructive biblical criticism is such as to make evangelical Christendom prize its loyal, devout, and capable scholars, allowing them freedom to use, unhindered by dictation from the unscholarly and in such manner as they may judge to be most telling and strategic, the materials, knowledge, and skill now possessed by scholarship abreast of the times and familiar with the changing movements of learned thought.

An ever-present peril lies in the possibility of prematurely accepting proffered theories, reported revolutionizing discoveries, or rash and excessive inferences. Lord Salisbury, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Prime Minister of England, and President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, warned that association that the greatest danger which besets scientific research at the present day is "the acceptance of mere conjecture in the name and place of knowledge." The peril in

the region of theological and biblical investigation could hardly be more precisely described than in those identical words. Not infrequently undemonstrated hypotheses are urged for acceptance, and an effort is made to persuade the Church that in deference to the latest opinions of progressive scholars and in vindication of its own intelligence it must at once proceed to modify its interpretations and reconstruct its system of doctrine so as to adjust harmoniously with recent theories and opinions. Naturally the cautious Church, foster-mother of learning in all ages, anxious and bound to be always the pillar and ground of the truth, having in trust the oracles of God, and holding in its hands as its own peculiar property the fruits of long centuries of ardent, assiduous, and prayerful Bible study, is slow to tear down and rebuild its theological house at the bidding of innovational conclusions. Not until an opinion is supported by a strong consensus of the loyal scholarship of Christendom, so as to be generally and steadily accepted, need the Church think of changing its formulæ and standards of belief.

THE HARLEQUIN BIBLE.

MOTLEY was the dress of the professional jester. It has recently been put on the Holy Scriptures, in a way which would be droll were the subject less serious, by costumers whose passion for colors seems as aboriginal and fantastic as the garb of the buffoon in early Italian comedy. The reception which the Polychrome Bible has met must be disappointing if not mortifying to the enterprising and ardent devotees who have produced it at great cost of labor and money. Even in quarters where it expected to be hailed with enthusiasm its welcome has lacked heartiness, and approbation has been meted out sparingly.

One editorial utterance, quoted by Professor Bowne in *The Christian Revelation*, p. 67, is a sample:

The examples of polychrome work exhibited thus far do not inspire high hopes. To see on one page of the book we have been accustomed to call the Bible print in five, eight, ten, and sometimes fourteen different colors is bewildering. To turn page after page and behold these iridescent and curiously intermingled shades of the rainbow, is to have an overpowering sense of the inextricable confusion of the text as deciphered by the critics. If we may judge the effect on the minds of nonprofessional Bible readers by its effect on our own we are warranted in saying that the polychrome edition will not increase either the better knowledge of the book or reverence for it among the people.

Even the most lax of religious journals making any claim to orthodoxy, a paper which belongs to the left wing of the so-called New Theology and goes with the forefront of advanced criticism, says :

The Polychrome Bible tells the student what scholars have discovered, or think they have, concerning the original sources of the Bible, and concerning the nature of its composition and the material of which it is composed ; but it also tells him what they have guessed ; and he is left to judge as to what is certainly known, what is reasonably concluded, and what is only shrewdly guessed.

When the readers of the Polychrome Bible have superadded their guessing to the guesses of the makers of it the result will be patchwork resembling a crazy quilt. When literary critics take a short verse of the Old Testament, divide it into three or four parts, and assign them to as many different sources, then would-be learning takes on a likeness to the fortune teller's pretense of knowledge, and criticism can scarcely be distinguished from charlatanism. The voluble knowingness of the cocksure dogmatic guesser invites the remark that he would better not know so much than to know so many things that nobody knows and that are quite likely not so. The works of advanced biblical critics call for some such comment as was made on a small book entitled *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt* : "Professor Flinders Petrie has contrived to pack into this little volume an extraordinary amount of interesting, suggestive, and debatable matter. . . . There are few archaeologists so fertile in ingenious hypotheses, so tantalizing in the brevity of their proofs."

Andrew Lang, LL.D., fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and sometime Gifford Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, is a scientist of repute in anthropology and cognate branches, a scholar of wide study and critical ability, a littérateur of versatility and genius, author of some twenty volumes, a thinker of trained faculty, ample culture, varied experience, and judicial temper. The impression made on such a man by any offering of scholarship or product of literary criticism cannot be regarded as of no significance ; his deliberate and distinct condemnation cannot be tossed aside as ignorant and incompetent. His judgment, as printed in *Longmans' Magazine*, is not unworthy of reproduction here :

We are to have a new Bible, the "Polychrome Bible." "If the people are to get the most possible from the Bible they must have it in modern idiomatic Eng-

lish." I hope they will like it in modern English, say newspaper English. The type will be in lots of colors. "In answer to the cry of the people for more light upon the literary history of the Bible the distinctive polychrome feature was devised. . . . The people have a right to know the results of these studies" (Biblical Studies, Advertisement). Certainly the people have a right to know, but the people can only know in one way, and that is by reading a great many books of a tedious character, full of arguments which, for the most part, the people, not being oriental scholars or logically minded, cannot possibly estimate at their true value. There is no more a people's path than there is a royal road to learning. The translators are men of learning, I gladly admit, and the Joseph's coat of many colors and bright up-to-date English may attract the people. The people may buy a Polychrome Bible in twenty parts, at from five to ten shillings a part—and I hope the spelling is not to be American. But if the people, or anyone, thinks that the riddle of biblical criticism is mastered, I congratulate them or him on inexperience of misfortune. It hath been my lot lately to read a good deal of biblical criticism, made in Germany. The method is simple and Teutonic. You have a theory, you accept the evidence of the sacred writers as far as it suits your theory, and when it does not suit you say that the inconvenient passage is an "interpolation." It *must* be, for if not, what becomes of your theory? So you print the inconvenient passage in green, I suppose, or what not, and then the people know all about it. Anyone who wishes to see examples may find them in Professor Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 146-148, 205. I know this game well. The Germans have played it with Homer till it would be difficult to find a passage in the "Iliad" which has not been denounced as an "interpolation," because it does not fit somebody's theory. This may be "criticism," but it is not business—no, not if it is printed in all the colors of the rainbow. If the people really "want to know," if "the cry of the people is for more light," let the people begin by reading Professor Robertson's book, where they will find common sense, regard for evidence and for logic, and a disconcerting sense of humor. Then they can go on to Stade, and I hope they will find him as comical a logician as I do.

A reader who is not an oriental scholar (as I am none) has no *locus standi* as a critic of biblical critics where questions of language arise. But when the Teutonic judges of the Old Testament wander into anthropology, as they often do, then one knows where to have them. The people of course do not know where to have them, and are likely to swallow their statements about "animism" and "fetichism," and so on. For instance, they dispute as to Jehovah's name being

Indo-Germanic,
 { Assyrian,
 { Babylonian,
 Egyptian,
 Kenite,
 Canaanite.

Is it "the Indo-Germanic root, *div*;"
 or Armenian, *Astrat*;
 or Babylonian, *Ja-h*;

or Egyptian { *Joh* (Moon God!)
 or
 { *Nuk pu nuk* (translated);

or, is the name of Hebrew origin? "The people have a right to know." But nobody knows.

This pastime has long been played with names like Athene or Artemis. "The people have a right to know the results of these studies." There are no results. Nobody is one whit the wiser. Of course I do not mean that there should be no biblical criticism. But if the people think it safe to swallow the variegated theories made in Germany, France, England, or America, the people are wrong, and one can only say *populus vult decipi*. What can we make of criticism when one leader (Stade) says that Israel was never in Egypt, and another leader (Wellhausen) says that Israel *was* in Egypt? It is as if Principal Rhys vowed that the English came from Calthness, or never came at all, while Mr. Freeman maintains that the English came from the Continent. The Egyptian bondage was the corner stone of Hebrew history. One famous critic takes it away, and another leaves it standing, and the people may toss up for it. These are the "results" for which the people are supposed to be yelling. I have actually observed a critic maintaining that the ideas of the decalogue must be much later than Moses. They are the ideas of the untutored Australian black fellow, who is certainly not a marvel of *modernité*.

This is not written in the interests of orthodoxy, but in the interests of ordinary common sense. It is just as provoking to see Homer or Herodotus pulled about by German "ingenuity" as to see the Bible treated in the same way. But the people are not "a-hollering and a-bellering" for a Polychrome Iliad. They let the criticism of Homer go by; they do not care for Homer. For the Bible they do care, and one can only repeat, "Do not swallow theories because they are German." Polychrome print is no argument.

I take from Professor Robertson an example of the critical method. Amos the prophet lived, I presume, in the eighth century before our era. He, according to criticism, was one of the earliest *writers* in Israel. Not to dwell on the problem of the date of the introduction of writing, Amos says *something* (chap. v, 25). What he means "the people have a right to know," but, as far as the translation goes, it is impossible to tell what he means. In fact, nobody can make any sense of the passage. However, some critics suppose it to imply that the Israelites, during the forty years in the wilderness, were convinced idolaters. This they accept as an historical statement of fact. But by their own theory the affair of forty years in the wilderness, if ever there was such an affair at all, which they doubt, occurred some five years before Amos, his time, and there was no writing wherein to record the circumstances. Yet, as the idea that the Israelites were steady idolaters in these remote ages is pleasant to the critics, they decide, first, that *this* is what Amos means, and, next, that on this point Amos is a competent authority. This is as if I were to say that the Venerable Bede was a good authority for some event that occurred, or did not occur, in Kintyre about 300 A. D. "It is somewhat peculiar," says Professor Robertson, "to find writers who tell us that there was no forty years' wandering in the desert at all, accepting the testimony of Amos in regard to the religious practices of a time which he so precisely defines"—that is, the said apocryphal forty years. The joke is that critics differ even as to whether Amos is talking in the past or future tense. The poor prophet is also supposed to be speaking both unhistorically and also as a good historical authority at one and the same time. We would all like to understand the Old Testament better than we

do, but we shall not understand it at all if we go blindly after criticism of this highly consistent and logical description. However, the Polychrome editors may do better. What makes an Englishman ill is the obviously American advertisement about the cry of the people and the people's right to know what nobody knows. This kind of thing is not knowledge, but opinion, and very polychrome opinion it is. No color box would contain pigments enough to print the contending opinions of critics withal, if one offered a polychrome manual of criticism.

In the Rainbow Bible, as some call it, criticism offers in completest possible form its alleged results, according to latest returns from accessible counties of the critical mind up to the hour when the book went to press ; but, whatever is uncertain, it is certain that these results will be modified by still later returns. Indeed, before this rainbow was finished at its latter end, the colors, not being fast colors, had run together at its beginning. By the time the last chapter was printed, the most progressive of the critics who made it would declare the book out of date in parts. In a procedure which, spite of pretensions to be scientific, is so largely speculative as overzealous innovational biblical criticism is, the conclusions are impermanent and unstable. As opinion upon each detail is likely to be affected by the accidental prepossessions, proclivities, supposed interests, or personal idiosyncrasies of the individual critic, so also is opinion liable to change even between sundown and daylight, without any alteration in known facts, simply by the peristaltic working of the critic's own mind, forcing its contents forward. The revolution of the earth gives the kaleidoscopic Polychrome a fresh turn daily, the mosaiced fragments tumble apart and fall into new arrangement. The intellectual world has more confidence in the Bible than in the iconoclasts who attempt to destroy its integrity and discredit its authority. The catalytic critics who are bent on dissolving its vital unity by means of conjecture into piecemeal original elements are guilty of a dissolute performance. Mr. Lang has written, as he says, not in the interests of orthodoxy, but in the interests of practical common sense which listens attentively, ponders cautiously, judges fairly, and then utters its verdict frankly. This virile good sense has been heard to remark reflectively that, when a professedly and properly serious business has made itself ridiculous by absurd excesses and lost its reputation for sobriety and sanity, it has committed hari-kari on the doorstep of its enemies, where its increasingly objectionable remains lie entirely at their disposal.

THE ARENA.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS TO SCIENTIFIC
HYPOTHESES.

THERE are certain theological writers to-day who seem to think that the exponents of Christian faith should hasten to adjust their lines of defense to the latest hypotheses of science and criticism, assuming that these hypotheses have come to stay, and that they are incontrovertible. This new system of apologetics is largely a surrender to distrust of the old defenses of Christianity and a retreat to grounds not nearly so defensible as those of the fathers. In this case apologetics have indeed become apologies, using the term in the common signification.

At what demand is this retreat made? At the demand of indisputable facts that find no other explanation! No one except a materialist of the stamp of a Karl Vogt or Ernst Haeckel would dare assume such a position. We speak the truth when we say it is at the demand of hypotheses that had their birth in a purpose to get rid of the supernatural in the entire universe. The idea of the Creator has been repugnant to a certain class of thinkers, and hence they have sought to push him as far back as possible from any interposition in the ordering of the *cosmos*. And thus was born evolution of the genetic development type, the transmutation hypothesis, which has for its support the "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" hypotheses of Darwin. In other words, hypotheses are built upon hypotheses; and this we are told is the latest and grandest generalization of science, and the theologian with his immanent God must change his lines of defense and beat a retreat.

An otherwise excellent article in the January *Review* on "Recent Phases of Thought in Apologetics" is written from this standpoint of surrender. We are given to understand that evolution is "now accepted by scientific men with substantial unanimity," and that it "requires a modification in the form of the argument from design." We question it. When the term "evolution" is carefully defined it will be found that many scientific men do not accept the genetic development hypothesis of Darwin, with its subsidiary hypotheses of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." Either nature shows design or it does not. That it does is clearly manifest in the perusal of Darwin's works, to say nothing of other writers who have accepted his views. Throughout their writings one will find the words "contrivance," "purpose," "adaptation," "end" in the teleological sense. So design forces itself on the very language of the men who seek to get rid of it. Take the eye, for example. We are told that "a pigment fleck covering the termination of a nerve" might have begun the evolution of an eye. Who cannot see that, however it may have begun, design is not eliminated from the

perfect eye? A contrivance so perfect, so carefully adjusted to the use of the body, to light and its laws, shows design far more perfectly than any mechanism of human contrivance. Relations, adaptation of means to ends, adjustments, selection of materials that must have been intellectual show design, or else the word has no meaning. But a moment's glance at this hypothesis of a pigment cell on the end of a nerve. Is there one fact out of which such an hypothesis can be made, to say nothing of the innumerable steps between this hypothetical cell and a perfect eye? Has anyone ever watched a pigment cell at the end of a nerve on the journey to an eye? And is it for suppositions like this that we are asked to change our defense of Christianity? No accumulative amount of this kind of supposition can make a very convincing argument.

But, further along in this article we are told that the hypothesis of genetic development is built upon a series of proofs, no one of which is conclusive as an argument, but all of which taken together establish the hypothesis and make it "the great intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century." What are these cumulative proofs? Homology of structure, rudimentary organs, successive developments in embryo from a simple and lower type of structure to the more complex, the geological record showing an increasing complexity in the order in which life appeared upon this earth, the similarity of successive faunas and floras in the same region, and the fact that "the boundary lines of all groups recognized in zoological and botanical classification grow more indefinite with increasing knowledge." The writer is right in saying that no one of these furnishes a sufficient reason for the hypothesis. There is no one of them but admits of a rational explanation outside of the hypothesis. There is no one of them that makes a peremptory demand for such an hypothesis. The geological record is against it. If the hypothesis were true the transitional types would, beyond all computation, outnumber the fixed types. What are the facts? Clearly defined specific boundary lines in every geological eon, as we find them to-day. Some of us remember how Professor Huxley handled the little Eohippus to develop the modern horse, and we conclude that had there been a few more constructively transitional types they would have reached equal renown with Eohippus. No, we decline to admit that the Darwinian form of evolution is to-day of such scientific authority that we will recede from our teleological defense of theism.

Des Moines, Ia.

T. MCK. STUART.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST."

THE article in the *Review* for July, 1898, bearing above title, has many excellences, as is always the case with what its author writes. But this utterance is not like most of those which fall from his pen or lips; it lacks definiteness or completeness of statement, so that one is frequently under the necessity of raising the question, "What does the author mean?"

1. In his eulogy of evolution it would have been a gratification had he informed us whether, in his opinion, evolution is in itself an ascertained fact, or a series of settled axioms based on indisputable facts, or merely "an hypothesis not true in itself . . . for working purposes, one from which we can reach the firm ground of knowledge." Or is it something other than either of these which justifies such extravagant praise and such complete abandonment of all preconceived theories?

2. Are we compelled either, on the one hand, to "fight the men who are exploring for facts" along this line, or, on the other, to accept without challenge all which by them in their enthusiasm is declared proved? Is it to be attributed to "stupidity and stubbornness" if one waits till sufficient proof has been set forth to demonstrate the truth of new philosophies? Does the exercise of the charity for which the article pleads necessitate the abandonment of all past faiths?

3. Does this age really demand a new God, since we are informed that "the God of Moses is not our God?" Is it necessary to the adequate explanation of the slaughter of Midian, according to the recent and approved methods of Bible interpretation, that we should discredit the statement of Num. xxv, 17, "Vex the Midianites, and smite them," by saying, "Our God would not have allowed Moses, as the God of Moses did—so he thought—to slaughter to extinction the Midianites?" Are there literary or other reasons for accepting the history of the avenging of Israel's beguilement and rejecting its divine authorization, when the same narrative asserts, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Vex the Midianites, and smite them: For they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor," and when elsewhere the Lord says to Moses, "Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people?" Is the God of modern times incapable of punishing a nation? Is divine vengeance never just? Do men never become so vile that to extirpate them is the kindest for them and the likeliest to secure the benefit of the survivors? How did Sodom and Gomorrah perish? Were Nadab and Abihu buried with national honors? Did Korah and his company die in battle? How much of biblical history is to be relegated to the domain of myth?

4. Are we at this date compelled to explain all "progress by means of resident forces in nature" because of the "ever-widening gulf between naturalism and supernaturalism?" Is supernaturalism to be abandoned because "the supernaturalism of religion is becoming more and more obnoxious to the naturalism of science?" Because "supernaturalism is separable from religion" does it follow that the supernatural should be altogether eliminated from our creed? Is Sinai a myth? Did Moses originate the Ten Commandments? Was either the Red Sea or the Jordan divided? Did anything out of the sphere of the natural occur in Egypt to secure the emancipation of Israel from the yoke of the Egyptians? Or, what mean the words of Christ: "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe

not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" Was the Master mistaken when he affirmed, "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness," or was manna a natural product of the desert? Surely no less is implied in the words of our author, "What we have called the supernatural is nothing more than the creation of ignorance and superstition;" or in these, "There is no manifestation of the supernatural which does not find its expression in and through the natural."

Again, Dr. Chaffee writes: "New facts, always disquieting to the unlearned, but the delight of scholars and investigators, came pouring in upon us from a study of all the natural sciences, whose teaching is that the world is ruled, not by caprice, but by law; not through miracles, but through the agency of natural forces." This statement seems to be sufficiently definite to preclude mistake as to its meaning. A little before the place of this quotation charity seemed to require that the author should be interpreted as meaning that "law" should be so defined as to include that which is supernatural, that God had made it a law of his universe that he should be expected to arrest the operation of natural laws when the defense or enlightenment or welfare of his creatures so required; but in this quotation the antithesis of "natural forces" with "caprice" and "miracles" appears to amount to an absolute and unequivocal denial of miracles under any definition. Does the author mean that when "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God" this testimony to our inner self is by a "natural force" like gravitation? Are regeneration, sanctification, glorification successive steps in a process in which we may see the operation of law—"the same law throughout infinite space, a natural law which is measurable and can be formulated . . . a substitute for the anthropomorphic arm, the arm of the Almighty which upholds all?" Is this measurable law the author's substitute for that arm?

Or, was Christ's birth from a virgin a result of the operation of a "natural force?" Did he cleanse the lepers, cure the blind, raise the dead, and comfort the heart of the disciples by revealing the nature of the "place" which he should "go to prepare" for them by the processes of "law?" And, being at last "dead and buried," was it "natural law" which raised him from the dead to eternal triumph and a seat at the right hand of the Father? Or, if these things cannot be referred to the operation of "natural law," are they also to be relegated to the domain of exploded myths, because, forsooth, science has neither microscope, nor solvent, nor scalpel with which to analyze these mysteries?

If this scientific process is the only way to escape "the scorn of intelligence while we indulge in the feat of verifying all the myths and miracles of the Jewish Church and people," we might choose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of" science "for a season." For the "scorn of intelligence" and the "reproach of Christ" are "greater riches than the treasures" of such science as robs us of the supernatural, of a personal God who is unfettered by the

laws of his own origination, and of a plan of salvation which makes light not merely of earthly potentates seeking the destruction of the Lord's anointed, but also of stars and systems and sciences which impede their normal development. Of all such scientific processes it is written by the psalmist, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision."

Owatonna, Minn.

H. G. BILBIE.

DEPRAVITY.

Two articles appeared in different issues of the "Arena" for 1898 which, if not misunderstood, seem to the writer to be unscriptural, unmethodistic, illogical, and dangerous. The first declares that, "as to man's total depravity, it is nonexistent, save in the imagination of the most cast-iron Calvinist. It is impossible among finite creatures, and is nowhere taught in the Scriptures." If not total, then it must have been somewhat, or partial. If partial, then some degree, some trace, some germ of moral goodness or righteousness must have remained in man's moral constitution. If so, that moiety would be rewardable and possible of growth, and to that extent would supersede the necessity of an atonement. Such an increase in moral excellence might progress to perfection of character under favorable and possible conditions, and thus make the tragic scene on Calvary a cruel, needless spectacular mockery. Is not the following, rather, the true view? The depravity resulting from man's fall was entire, "total," it was as completely so as that of angels that fell, leaving no trace of moral excellence remaining; but simultaneous with the fall the benefits of the atonement through "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" provisionally and prospectively took effect, thus extending the probation of the first pair, so that whatever of good may be discoverable in man is wholly due to the measure of "the free gift" that has come "upon all men unto [in order to] justification of life." Thus is salvation all of grace.

The second article teaches that "all depravity arises out of actual transgressions. Each one's personal sin is what brings it [depravity] to him, not that of an ancestor, near or remote." To this I reply that Adam and Eve became depraved by willfully and knowingly yielding to temptation. Infants, before they are capable of temptation and intelligent action, manifest unmistakable evidence of depravity in selfishness, anger, resentment, and other ways. And in some form or manner this manifestation is universal. Whence comes it? "The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." Nevertheless, everyone, from his birth to the end of his probation, is every moment under the remediable provisions of the atonement of Christ, and all who die before they become accountable are saved in virtue of the same.

Jacksonville, Ill.

W. F. SHORT.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REPLENISH THE SOURCES.

THERE is constant waste everywhere. The physical system tends to decay, and must have proper nourishment in order to perform its functions. A physician giving advice for the preservation of health insists on the taking of sufficient food, and that of the best character, as absolutely essential. Attention to the quality and amount of sustenance is the modern method for the retention and recovery of bodily vigor. This observation applies equally to the person who is constantly performing mental or spiritual labor. There is a tendency to exhaust resources which we have without replenishing the sources.

This is evidently the case with the Gospel minister. He is persistently drawing upon the reservoir of mental and spiritual strength which has been accumulated in his previous studies and experiences. His years of training in academy, college, and theological seminary have not only disciplined his faculties, but have given him experiences and supplies of information which are of great value in meeting the responsibilities of his early ministry. He brings to his duties not only physical, but mental freshness, which causes him to be heard with pleasure, so that often he is preferred to those of greater maturity of thought and wisdom. He is drawing on his accumulated materials, and is in danger of thinking that the well of his knowledge and experience is fathomless, and of ceasing to replenish the sources which are, unconsciously to himself, diminishing. It is against this unconscious loss that the young preacher needs to be warned. Just as the man with impaired physical strength goes forward, boasting that he was never so well or so vigorous in his life, while his failing power is well known to others, so the minister goes forward, often completely unaware that his resources are giving out, although the fact is quite apparent to those who receive his ministrations.

There is a remedy within the reach of everyone if not deferred until the case has become chronic, and that is to replenish the sources. He should secure abundant supplies and continue to do so until the time comes in the order of nature when it is at once a duty and privilege to rest. He should replenish the sources of spiritual supply. We have recently called attention to the Holy Scriptures as the fountain of spiritual truth, but we are now considering the inner life, the secret place of the soul, where God dwells by his Spirit as the Comforter and the Sanctifier. There is danger that the professional performance of spiritual functions may lead one to forget his own need of spiritual counsel and of fresh spiritual experiences. There must be new experiences of divine things, new repentance for transgressions, new baptisms of power, if one would

keep from decay in spiritual life. These results may be secured by mingling in the society of the more saintly members of the congregation, especially those who have a deep consciousness of God in the soul. They are often unschooled in worldly lore, but they are profoundly read in the things of the Spirit; they have not tasted to any great extent of the springs of human wisdom, but they have drunk deeply from the river that flows "hard by the throne of God." Many preachers have found their visits to the afflicted to be seasons of great spiritual refreshing, and they have received from their pastoral visits more than they have imparted. It is not, however, to urge the method of replenishing the supplies of spiritual grace that this is written. With this the minister of the Gospel is acquainted, both theoretically and experimentally. But our purpose is to impress upon the young minister the great necessity of keeping the spiritual life ever fresh and vigorous by a constant replenishing from the great fountain which is constantly open and from which all may freely draw at their pleasure.

This will not, however, be sufficient. The minister must also replenish his intellectual sources. If one will study himself with care he will often discover that his thoughts revolve in a circle and that his realm of thinking is in reality very small. He has by habit placed himself within certain limitations beyond which, after a while, it becomes difficult to pass. In fact, he becomes pleased with the boundaries of his intellectual movements, and neither sees nor cares to see the great world of truth pertaining to his own chosen profession which lies within easy reach. The minister is, indeed, a man of one book, but how manifold are the realms of thought and action which that book unfolds and with which it is associated in the thought of men! The Christian literature which is related to the life and work of the ministry is marvelous, both as to its quantity and quality. He should give his attention to the choice works which have been placed within his reach. Some are old and some are new. The great mass of literature neither his time nor his necessities will allow him to study, but the choice thoughts of the choice thinkers must not be passed by. The *Review* and other periodicals contain notices of the new books which are most worthy of study and reading, and from those the minister may readily select those most suitable to his own modes of thinking and his conscious mental needs. We are not at this time emphasizing what the minister shall read, but are saying that he should read the choice productions which are calculated to give fullness and freshness to his intellectual life. "Reading makes a full man." Let the minister keep the fountain full, replenish the sources, and then, as often as he comes to draw water from the wells of salvation, he will find abundant resources, both spiritual and intellectual, and there will be no mental or spiritual decadence in his pulpit or pastoral ministrations.

If he would keep the sources replenished it must be done steadily, not spasmodically. To preserve our bodies in physical vigor it is in-

sisted upon that we take our food regularly. Irregular eating, even of proper food, cannot build up the human body to its best conditions for work. No more can the intellectual and spiritual life be kept vigorous by irregularity in the times of reading and study. Growth, to be genuine, must be by normal, not by abnormal, processes. It is true one may by setting aside a part of a year for study lay up a supply that may be useful afterward, but the surest way is by the constant employment of spare moments or the regular use of regular times for special subjects. This, however, is apart from the present purpose, which is to impress upon younger ministers the importance of constantly replenishing the sources of spiritual and mental power.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PULPIT.

THE modern newspaper prides itself on its timeliness. It represents not only the spirit of the age or the period, but even the spirit of the precise time in which it is issued. One needs only to examine any first-class newspaper, to gather what men are thinking about. At present and for months past the chief subject of interest has been the recent war and the probable results. The pervading spirit of the time is that of militarism and governmental responsibilities.

So, too, there is a religious spirit, which is expressed largely by the utterances of the pulpit. In this respect a marked change has come over the spirit of preaching, especially in our large cities. There was a time when the form of preaching was mostly textual and exegetical, and the current topics were the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, such as repentance and faith, regeneration, adoption and sanctification, and the duties of life as founded upon texts of Holy Scripture. While these topics are not omitted it is clear that they do not constitute the current form of presenting truth in the centers of influence, where tides of opinion meet and whence they diverge.

The spirit of the pulpit is shown, in part at least, by the announcements of the topics for any given Sabbath. The writer has before him a great metropolitan newspaper containing a list of the subjects on which many of the pastors proposed to preach on a recent Sabbath. It shows that out of about eighty announcements of religious services fifty-five did not contain the topics of discourses. A number indicated the nature of the exercises, such as "Sunday School and Bible Classes," the "Service of Song," "Classes in the Present-day Problems," the "Bible Class," and "Studies in the Life of Moses," assigning the hour for each. These, with the preaching services, constituted a full day. Some of the notices did not give the preacher's subject, but announced the special music that would be rendered at the service. If we turn to the topics announced they are of great variety. There were some which might be designated as evangelical, that is, as touching the vital truths of spiritual life, such as "Jesus Christ, Son of God, and Son of man,"

"His Gracious Words," "John with Jesus hastening to Calvary," "Faith and Courage," and "Christ Seeking Entrance into the Individual Life." Others were of the religious-ethical type and calculated in their evangelical teaching to develop Christian character, as: "The Character of Samuel," "An Earnest Life," "Moralizing and Christianizing Men," and "A Review of Methods." Some of the topics were of vital Christian truth, leaving something uncertain, however, as to the precise form of the message to be expected, as "Open Windows," "Peace on Earth," "The Faith of Rhoda," "The Story of a Sin," "Climbing Mount Gerezim," "The God that Answers by Fire," "Christ's Captivity of the World's Thought," "Sold Out at a Sacrifice," "An Old Man's Song in the Temple," "Signs of the Times," and "The Gospel for New York City." Then there were topics of an ethical or scientific character, which might serve as the basis of a lecture or a sermon, as: "The Protestant Hero of Canada," "The Responsibility of the Individual," "The Educational Development of our Native Americans in our Southern Mountains," "What the Bible Says about Laughter," "The Fire and the Calf," "Scenes of the Long Ago," "The Huguenot Churches of France," and "What do the Stars Teach?"

In the list to which reference is made there were a number of services by societies or individuals, not under the organization of the Churches, whose topics are worthy of study, as: "The Seventh Chapter of Revelation," "Spirit," "Water of Life," "Keely, the Fakir," "Outline Statement—Scientific Religion," and "Conditions of the Happiness of Homes." Such is a general summary of the announcements of topics in a newspaper for one Sabbath, as they appeared under the general head of "Religious Notices."

It has already been stated that more than half the announcements of religious services did not state the topics of the preachers. This seems to be a large number relatively, and may indicate a tendency to omit the public announcement of pulpit topics. The subjects advertised seem, as a whole, both healthful in tone and also instructive. A good while ago the writer had occasion to call attention in the "Itinerants' Club" to the trivial character of many of the subjects of sermons announced in the pulpit notices, and it appears that the present list is a decided improvement on the one he then reviewed. If a criticism were suggested it would be that the number in the first class is not large enough. It is to be presumed, however, that the majority of those who did not announce their subjects intended to preach on texts which do not yield readily to topical treatment. No exception can be taken to purely ethical subjects, unless they are divorced from the ethics of Christianity, which we fear is the case in a few instances. Altogether, a careful study of the list of topics will show a profound interest in the great problems of life and destiny. And we may not despair of the Church or the nation so long as the teachings of the pulpit are in harmony with those of the great Teacher.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE HEBREW ECCLESIASTICUS.

THERE is no portion of the Old Testament Apocrypha that, for various reasons, has presented more difficulties or has been more productive of discussion than the book called, from its name in the Vulgate, "Ecclesiasticus." The title of this apocryphon in the Septuagint, through which it has come to us, is "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach." The origin of the book is far from clear. Nothing except the name is positively known of the author. But that the book was originally written in Hebrew seems to be founded on a reliable tradition, accepted by the best Jewish and Christian authorities. Several rabbis in various ages quote from Sirach (now written Sirach); but though they write in the Aramæan, that is, rabbinical Hebrew, the citations are invariably in pure classical Hebrew—a clear proof of the language of the original. Jerome also distinctly states that he himself had seen the Hebrew original of this book.

The short prologue to Ecclesiasticus, like that of Job, is in prose, though the book itself is cast in a poetical mold. It is written in Greek, and is evidently from the pen of the translator of Ecclesiasticus. The following words from this Greek introduction are self-explanatory: "Ye are intreated to read with favor and attention, and to pardon us if in any parts of what we have labored to interpret [that is, translated] we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue." This citation shows plainly that the translator had some misapprehension regarding the merits of his efforts, and hence this semiapologetic tone. That Ecclesiasticus in its Greek dress is a poor piece of work is universally admitted. This being true of the Greek, how much more so must it be of the later versions based upon so imperfect a translation! The violent transpositions, the many disconnected passages, the omission of one or more parallels, the many clumsy circumlocutions and evident interpolations all betray poor work. It was no easier two thousand years ago than now for a novice to make a translation having the combined merits of elegance and accuracy. To render the idiomatic expressions of one language into those of another was never easy, especially when these phrases are popular proverbs and such short, idiomatic expressions as abound in the writings of Jesus ben Sirach. The translator of Ecclesiasticus may have been proficient in Greek or Hebrew, but certainly not in both. This accounts for the many deficiencies in his version. It has been common for less conscientious translators in all ages to omit what defied translation, and to mis-translate or paraphrase what was imperfectly understood by them.

In view of these facts the discovery of a single leaf of Sirach's work in the original Hebrew was hailed with delight by biblical students everywhere. This stray leaf was brought from Egypt to England by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, and along with a large number of other ancient documents was submitted to Dr. Schechter, the eminent reader in Talmudic at the University of Cambridge, who identified it as a part of Sirach's apocryphon, namely, cap. 39, 15; 40, 7. The discovery and identification of this single leaf led to the identification of some other similar leaves at the Bodleian library. At any rate the discovery at Oxford was made public just about the same time as that at Cambridge. The Bodleian manuscript is without doubt a part of the same book to which the leaf brought from Egypt belonged. They connect directly. Only one verse is missing. The Oxford leaves contain cap. 40, 9; 40, 11. Thus we have now about one fifth of the entire book. As there are yet a very large number of manuscripts and papyri to be examined, may we not hope that the remaining leaves may yet be found?

In order that the reader may form some idea of the inaccuracies of the Greek version, let us now place the tradition of cap. 40, 8-11, in parallel columns with the original Hebrew:

<i>Revised English Version from the Greek.</i>	<i>The original Hebrew by Dr. Schechter.</i>
8. <i>It is thus</i> with all flesh, from man to beast, and upon sinners sevenfold more.	8.
9. Death, and bloodshed, and strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge:	9. [Pestilence and bloodshed, fever and drought, devastation and destruction, evil and death.
10. All these things were created for the wicked, and because of them came the flood.	10. Against the wicked evil is created, and because of him ruin departeth [not?]
11. All things that are from the earth turn to the earth again: and <i>all things that are of the waters</i> return into the sea.	11. All things that are from the earth return to the earth: and that which is from the height returneth to the height.

The exact time when Sirach wrote his book is not known; even the one reference for fixing the date is confusing. Sirach's grandson, who translated the book into Greek, informs us that he went into Egypt during the reign of Euergetes. There were two kings of that name, Euergetes I, who reigned from 246-222 B. C., and Euergetes II, called also Ptolemy VII who reigned from 145-116 B. C. Unfortunately, we have no means of deciding which of these two ruled over Egypt at the time in question. Thus it is impossible to determine with absolute precision the date of either the original work or the Greek translation. But whether Sirach wrote in the fourth or third century B. C., the discovery is an important one. For, as Dr. Schechter well says, "Apart from their

semisacred character the Sirach discourses restore to us the only genuine documents of the Grecian-Greek period (from about 450 until about 160 B. C.), the most obscure in the whole of Jewish history."

The discovery of the fragment shows also that classic Hebrew was written long after the captivity. It is, moreover, a source of great encouragement to the archaeologist who is patiently toiling among the buried treasures of the ancient world; for who can doubt that more than one Hebrew Genizah has yet surprises in store for the biblical student who patiently prosecutes his investigations?

RESEARCH IN PALESTINE.

PALESTINE very naturally continues to attract the eyes and hearts of biblical scholars the world over. The study of antiquities in this ancient land is at present receiving unusual attention. The various religious orders in Jerusalem are waking up as from a long lethargy, intent on becoming better acquainted with the archaeology of the Holy City and the land made sacred by the saints of old. Among these the Dominican Brothers, especially the French, deserve special mention. They show great zeal in identifying ancient sacred places in and around the city. Then there is "Der Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palæstina's." This society is under the control of a large number of eminent German scholars, among them Professors Kautzsch, Socin, Bickell, Buhl, Kiepert, and many others in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. There are also several distinguished Germans in Palestine who belong to the society and take active part in its work, such as Dr. Conrad Schick, of Jerusalem, and Dr. Schumacher, of Haifa. Of late years this society has been paying especial attention to the country "beyond Jordan." It has already made important discoveries in the Hauran and southern Bashan. The maps and charts prepared under its direction are very accurate. Dr. Schick is an enthusiastic archaeologist, and watches every excavation of whatever nature in and around Jerusalem. Prince Rupprecht, of Bavaria, during his recent trans-Jordanic travels was greatly impressed with many extensive ruins, and more especially with those of Jerash, which he very fitly denominated as "a second Pompeii." He will undoubtedly see to it that a scientific and thorough exploration will be made by some competent persons among these ruins. The still more recent visit of Emperor William, who is naturally of a religious turn of mind, and who is on excellent terms with the authorities at Constantinople, will aid materially in stirring German scholars to a more thorough work in Palestine.

One of the chief agencies, however, in this field is the Palestine Exploration Fund, having its headquarters at London. This society has been more or less actively at work for more than a generation. It has enlisted the sympathy of many distinguished men of letters and influence in all English-speaking countries. One of its principal workers is

Dr. Bliss, who, though born in Syria, is yet in push and sympathy an American and an alumnus of Amherst College. His work in Palestine may be compared to that of Professor Flinders Petrie in Egypt. His efforts during the past few years have been rewarded with considerable success. The results of his excavations at Lachish were all that could be expected. Not so, however, the three years' work at Jerusalem. This is not difficult to explain. It is no easy matter to carry on excavations in or near a city so densely populated as Jerusalem. The Mohammedans always regard work of this kind, if conducted by Christians, with more or less suspicion. Very few ignorant peasants care to see their gardens dug up, or even a miserable old stable torn down, in the interests of archæology. Dr. Bliss's work at Jerusalem, however, was not entirely without profit, as may be seen from his recently published volume, entitled *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897*. Two entire chapters are devoted to the discussion of the objects found. One is entitled "Minor Discoveries," and another, "Various Discoveries on the Western Hill." Perhaps the most interesting chapter of the book is that which contains a very full sketch of the walls of the Holy City, battered down and rebuilt, as they have been, no less than a score of times. Dr. Bliss thinks that his three years' work has brought some facts to light that will facilitate the study of Jerusalem in the following periods of history: the Jebusite, the Solomonic, the late Jewish kingdom, the Herodian, and the Latin.

But, judging from the actual number of the articles found during the recent excavations, the results are indeed meager when compared with the achievements at Nippur, Nineveh, or some of the Egyptian sites. Nevertheless, these tireless workers are not discouraged; for, no sooner had the time granted by the Ottoman government for excavating expired than another appeal was made to the sultan for a new firman, so that operations might be commenced in other localities. After the usual delays in obtaining such permits the Palestine Exploration Fund is once more at work, this time in ancient Philistia. Dr. Bliss is full of hope, as may be seen from the following words written by him in the last "Quarterly Statement." We quote at some length, so as to give our readers the exact location of the new field of operations: "Now a word in regard to what we may hope for in the next two years. Our work at Tell el Hesay showed that Palestine is a very important center, and that a site where the ruins are of mud brick is exceedingly important, because mud brick is a wonderful conservator of antiquities. We have applied for an area including ten square kilometres, in which area may be found four important sites, Tell es Sâfi, Tell ej Judeideh, Zakariya, and Khurbet Ddikerin. All of these sites, with the possible exception of the last, show signs of being Israelitish, or certainly pre-Roman. Tell es Safi was the Blanche Garde of the Crusaders, and therefore we may have to work our way through modern remains before we come to the more ancient site."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.**WORLD'S MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.**

THE weekly religious press will sufficiently advertise the fact that there is to be held in New York City, the last eleven days of April, next year, a General Missionary Conference similar to that held in London in 1888. It is not to give a notification of the Conference that this paragraph is written, but that all emphasis possible in these pages shall be laid upon the great dignity and importance of the proposed convention. The plans for the Conference have been maturing for three years. A committee appointed at the Annual Conference in 1896 has been in communication with the different Protestant missionary societies of the world, and has met with most gratifying responses from all of those bodies. There seems to be a very general appreciation of the plan for rounding out the century with a survey of the work which has been accomplished in the past and with a discussion of the outlook for future success.

Some conception of the Conference may be obtained from the fact that while in 1888, at the Conference in London, there were 1,759 delegates in attendance, it is hoped to double that number next year. There are about two hundred societies whose work is to be represented, and it is hoped to have missionaries present from every part of the world. The plan of the Conference is to have a few general sessions and a number of sectional meetings where specific topics can be discussed. Papers will be presented by experts on the different topics, and these will be followed by short addresses. It is also planned to secure the attendance of the delegates in different cities of the country; and it is hoped that miniature conferences may thus be held, and that the presence in those centers of so large a body of men who are directly interested in missionary work and closely connected with it may arouse a still greater interest in the great cause.

The gravity of the occasion must be realized. A great movement of the century is to be passed in review. The Churches have contributed millions of money for the spread of the Christian religion among non-Christian peoples, and the operations have covered wide-extended and remote districts. There is no region so difficult of access, whether in mountain fastness or tropical morass, that the evangelist has not planted his foot there. There is no tribe, however debased and brutal, however bruised with the slave yoke or broken in spirit by other forms of cruelty, but some one has made effort to reach it. Does it all pay? The wealth, intellect, and culture expended by noble men and women must all be accounted for. If there is to be girding for the future there is need of intelligent concert. And doubtless all this will be realized, for this Conference is not confined to any one Church or country, every foreign missionary

society of Christendom, as well as all societies in the United States, having been invited to send delegates.

The prospective topics are analytical and broad. We may name only the chief, but these will suffice to indicate the scope of the proposed discussions. They include the essential elements of foreign missions; the present duty of Protestant Christendom to foreign missions; the results of one hundred years of mission work; missionary agencies; the Bible and Christian literature in mission fields; the relations of foreign missions to home churches; missionary methods; the division of the foreign field; missionary comity; the relations of foreign missions to politics and diplomacy and the peace of the world; woman's work for women; literary work; the special providential demands of foreign missionary enterprise; the relation of students and other young people to foreign missions; the relation of missions to particular evils; the relation of Christian missions to other religions; the support of missions by home churches; the possible power of the pastor in awakening and sustaining the missionary spirit; the present crisis in missions; and the outlook for the coming century.

THE VITALITY OF ISLAM.

We have more than once taken occasion to point out the decline in the territorial extent of the political power of Mohammedanism, but that by no means signifies the decline of its vigor. Besides, it has recently been fortified politically at several points. The visit of the Emperor of Germany to Jerusalem, as the guest of the Sultan of Turkey, has had the effect among Moslems to add greatly to the prestige of the Sublime Porte, if it has not also assured Ahmed II of the support of Germany in an emergency. This, as diplomacy goes, is a warrantable assumption. In the Egyptian section of Islam the triumph of the British in the Upper Soudan leaves Mohammedanism more firmly established than it has been for a long time. The overthrow of the Mahdi as an erratic and fanatical revolutionist might seem to be a check to Islam, but in truth it reestablishes the regular organization of Moslem society, with a guarantee of stability that nothing else could do. Everybody knows the triumph which has been won by Islam, also, in the failure of the European powers to call the sultan to book in the matter of the Armenian massacres.

Besides all this there has been of late a rapid extension of Mohammedan propagandism in Central Africa, the Western Soudan, Northwest and Southeast India, China, and all the Malaysian Islands, especially Java and Borneo. Dr. Hartmann, a member of the famous Oriental Seminary faculty in Berlin and a recognized authority on Eastern affairs, says: "The Mahdistic influence has affected a vast number of peoples throughout Northern Africa; and the European protagonists of Mohammedanism, the empire of the Turks, have inaugurated movements on

a grand scale to spread the teachings and tenets of their religion. The sultan himself is under the absolute control of fanatical dervishes, and is filled with the ambition of establishing Moslem ideas everywhere. Immense sums go every year for missionary purposes to the Cape, to China, to Liverpool, to New York, although a goodly portion of this money never leaves the 'pious' hands to which it is intrusted. But the movement which has its headquarters in the Yildiz-Kiosk is by no means of insignificant proportions, and all the more so since the self-consciousness of the Moslems and their self-confidence have been materially increased through recent political events. In all corners of the earth Christianity and Mohammedanism are coming into collision, and the indications are that a struggle for the mastery is inevitable. The Moslems are burning with anxiety to see such a crisis and conflict; but Christianity does not seem to be in a condition to welcome the struggle, as, especially in Europe, it would be almost absolutely impossible to enthrone the masses for a religious contest to the same degree as is possible among the Mohammedan peoples."

The explanation which Dr. Hartmann gives of the inability of the Christian world to meet this impact is suggestive. The kernel of original Christianity has in the course of time been covered with a shell of political and other interests, and beneath these externals it is often difficult to rediscover that which is genuine Christianity. It strikes us that Dr. Hartmann is less analytical, however, when he says that "the teachings of the prophet of Mecca have not been dimmed or changed by later development." Surely anyone familiar with Islam ought to know better than that. In truth, the Koran and its teachings are not apprehended by millions of modern converts in India, Malaysia, and Africa. They know enough to say, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," but otherwise they are the same heathen as before, or have made a composite faith of their own, as in Java, where Mohammedanism, which is distinct from any other religious system, is known as "Javanism." Nevertheless, Dr. Hartmann's caution is timely. "At any rate the peoples of Europe should never forget that the spread of Mohammedanism is a great danger to Christian civilization and culture, and that cooperation among themselves against the extension of its influence and power is one of the crying needs of the hour."

OUR CONTENTION WITH TURKEY.

THE claims made by missionaries against Turkey are not for damages done to property by the Koords and others in Armenia. It is true that the only parties demanding redress are missionaries, but it is not as missionaries that they appear in the political and diplomatic arena. They had business establishments, in the form of schools, where fees were received; they conducted the manufacture and sale of books and carried on the practice of medicine; and these occupations were dis-

tinctly sanctioned by the sultan as business enterprises. It is more than three quarters of a century since American missionaries first entered Turkey under a well-established law of the Turkish government formulated over three hundred years ago. Under this general concession, which dominates all Asia far more than any legislators or conquerors, American missionaries have for several decades successfully prosecuted their distinctly professional business in various parts of the Turkish empire. They were conceded by this law the rights of worship, of publication, and of education, not as missionaries, but in common with all other resident non-Moslems. No professions were excepted, any more than were merchants, nor have these Christian workers claimed any other immunity.

It is not as missionaries conducting a propaganda that any claim is instituted for damages, but as foreigners resident in the empire and entitled to the protection of life and property. By the burning and sacking of a mission station at Harput one hundred thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed in 1895-96. Secretary Olney said there was satisfactory evidence that this destruction was to be attributed to the neglect of the native officials to prevent or check these depredations, and to the fact that the soldiers of the Turkish empire took an active part in the robberies. The missionaries asked for a guard in time to have been furnished with protection. This was not sent till the rioting was at its height, when the Turkish soldiers joined with the mob. It thus appears that the army, if not the officials, was in complicity with the rioters.

An editorial of the *Observer* thus puts the case: "Our claim for indemnity is thus not merely for injury done by mobs, as in the case of the British, French, and Italian governments, which are also demanding damages from the porte for losses sustained at the same time, but for injury done by the direct agents and representatives of Turkey. Now, it is a sound rule of international law that aliens are entitled to protection in life and property as fully as citizens of the State in which they reside, and that when they suffer losses reparation should be made. Even though its soldiers did not share in the pillage of the mission buildings the porte would thus be responsible for the acts of the mob within its jurisdiction, and so should recognize the obligation to reimburse the sufferers which civilized nations everywhere assume, and which this government has fulfilled in cases of mob violence to citizens of China. Nevertheless, it has persistently refused to do so, though it is explained that there is no intention to discriminate against the United States, the European governments having received no promise of settlement of their claims, or even recognition of them. If this refusal indicates a fixed purpose on the part of the porte to evade a plain international obligation, and Minister Strauss proves no more successful than his predecessors in effecting an adjustment, a very critical situation will have been reached."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Samuel Eck. The resurrection of Jesus is a theological problem that will not down. On the one hand many are unwilling to accept it as an historical fact; on the other, it is felt by all German thinkers except the most superficial that the belief of the primitive disciples demands explanation. In October, 1898, a company of theologians, all of whom adhere more or less consciously to the liberal school of Albrecht Ritschl, met in Eisenach, Germany, noted as the home of Luther for four years of his schoolboy life, to discuss the significance of the resurrection of Jesus for the early Christians and for those of our day. One of the principal speakers was Samuel Eck. His address as now printed in pamphlet form, under the title, *Ueber die Bedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu für die Urgemeinde und für uns* (Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1898), really adds nothing to the considerations long advanced by the so-called liberals. Yet, because he puts these considerations in their modern form, we here give his views. A sign of the modernness of his theory is that he refuses to ground faith in the resurrection on the hypothesis of mere subjective visions. No psychological explanation of these visions, whether supposedly seen by people of sound or of unsound mind, has ever proved satisfactory to careful and exact thought. Another sign is that he really proposes no theory as to the origin of the belief of the early disciples that Jesus was risen and that they had seen him. Directly connected with this is a third sign, namely, that he lays the chief emphasis upon the fact that those disciples believed Jesus lived. To this fact he ascribes immeasurable significance. He adopts the saying of Straus that but for the belief in the resurrection of their Lord the words and deeds of Jesus would have been lost to the memory of mankind. It was his resurrection which gave them their permanent value and which prompted his disciples to treasure and record them. A fourth sign is that he distinctly makes whatever happened by which the disciples came to believe in the resurrection to be the work of God. While he evidently has no sympathy with the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, he nevertheless believes that in some way the belief of the disciples was a result of a divine revelation by means of which the continuance of the personal life of Jesus Christ became with them a well-grounded conviction. This is at the farthest conceivable remove from the atheistic and infidel theories which made the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus a deliberate falsehood or a product of the tendency to legend, or which based that resurrection upon a deception of which the disciples were the victims. It is but a step to the belief that what God did was to raise Jesus from the dead.

Paul Chapuis. Commencing with the publication of Menegoz's *La notion biblique du miracle* (1894), already noticed in this department, a dispute has been going on among French Protestant theologians as to the possibility and actuality, as well as the nature, of miracles. Chapuis has come out recently with a strong work on the subject, entitled *Du Supernaturel. Études de philosophie et d'histoire religieuses* (The Supernatural. Studies in Religious Philosophy and History). Lausanne, Payot, 1898. He takes the position that physical science cannot possibly recognize the miraculous, because it has to do with the causes, results, and conditions of the world-process. When the scientist cannot find the cause of any phenomenon he is not at liberty to resort to supernatural causation, but must confess his ignorance of the cause, must regard the event, not as supernatural, but as inexplicable. There can be no question of the truth of this position, taking, as we must, physical science to pertain, as its name indicates, to purely physical existences and forces. But then, also, he should have brought out clearly the fact that while physical science cannot recognize a miracle it cannot, on the other hand, deny the possibility of the same. That realm in which the causes known to physical science are inadequate for the explanation of events may be the realm of miracle or of divine intervention. He is right, again, when he says that religious faith sees in all events of the natural world, even where the causal connection is perfectly plain, the purpose of God. But he is not as strong as could be wished in the exhibition of the intellectual justification of this faith. True, he does not admit that the only form of certainty is that which rests upon theoretical investigation; but the impression is left that the assertions of the faith relative to the intervention of the supernatural in the natural world are dependent upon their own inherent right to be and upon their utility in the ethical and religious life. In fact, apart from all this, and even if we could see no good reason why this faith should be preserved, we have the best of reasons for maintaining that we know, in the same sense in which we know any causal connection at all, the causal connection of God with the operations of the physical world and his intervention in at least some instances in the ordinary course of natural processes. There is nothing in science or philosophy to forbid this doctrine, and a sound philosophy demands it. This is itself almost a sufficient foundation. Historical considerations which cannot be now given make certain miracles as sure as any other facts of history.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Der Materialismus vor dem Richterstuhl der Wissenschaft. Den Gebildeten aller Stände dargeboten (Materialism Before the Judgment Seat of Science. For the Educated of All Ranks). By Theodor Menzi. Zurich, F. Schulthess, 1898. Although materialism is held to-day by but few thoughtful people, this book has its place for the reason that many

belated individuals still cherish all the theories of the materialistic philosophy, and especially do they endanger the general moral and religious welfare by applying or proposing to apply those theories to everyday life. Menzi discusses materialism in its relation to the inorganic, the organic, and the intellectual world. Under the first he makes the point that matter, from which materialism starts, is not an object of experience, but something supersensuous. We have certain sense phenomena to account for, and our reason posits matter as the explanatory cause. He calls attention to the fact that no one ever saw an atom and that atoms are strictly a metaphysical fiction; also that the most prominent representatives of the mechanical theory of nature have declined to class themselves as materialists. Coming to the relation between materialism and the organic world, he holds that all attempts to explain life on mechanical principles have proved failures. Life is the same mystery it has always been. In the intellectual world, also, materialism is a failure. The attempt of Carl Vogt and others to regard thought as a secretion of the brain overlooks the incommensurability of material and mental phenomena. Nor has monism succeeded in abolishing the dualism between these two classes of phenomena. The most it has done is to raise the question in a new form. Least of all can materialism explain the facts of self-consciousness and of free will. Menzi admits that the existence of God is not capable of mathematically certain proof. The best proof of the highest truths of life is their power to satisfy us. But since we all have a consciousness of God, he says that it is an original feeling of the human soul, a fact which both extensively and intensively rises above all other energies of the mind, and is best explained, like law and order in nature, on the theory that it is produced by an infinite, almighty, and omnipresent Being. In very brief form Menzi has contrived to exhibit the hallowness, shallowness, and untenability of the materialistic theory. The present writer often asks himself why this country does not produce more works of this kind. Materialism in all its aspects is rampant among the masses of our people. It is a question whether we do well to trust it to wear itself out.

Kelchversagung und Kelchspendung in der abendländischen Kirche (The Refusal and the Permission of the Cup in the Western Church). By Julius Smend. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898. This is a most interesting account of a doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic Church which is but little understood by Protestants. According to Smend, the practice first arose and later received ecclesiastical sanction. He mentions several causes which aided in the movement to withhold the cup from the laity. The first is theological speculation. The doctrine arose that the whole Christ is in each of the elements of the communion. Such was the teaching of Anselm of Canterbury. A little later Alexander Hales held that the doctrine of Anselm can be preserved

only by refusing the cup to the laity. Still later Thomas Aquinas declared that the permission of the cup to the laity tended to perpetuate the denial of Anselm's doctrine that the cup is not necessary, since Jesus gave food, but not drink, to the five thousand, and that its refusal to the laity is necessary to give the priests a more distinguished privilege. The second cause was the influence of great personalities and ecclesiastical counsels. Smend thinks that Pope Gregory II (715-731) introduced the practice of using but one cup in the communion. At any rate, from the eighth century onward but one cup was in use, and it was often so large or otherwise inconvenient to handle that instead of drinking from the rim of the cup a tube was used. But this was exceedingly impracticable on occasions when many communed; and, besides, one cup would not hold enough for a large number. The *Ordo Romanus* made no provision for a second consecration. Hence unconsecrated wine had to be added to the consecrated, the effect not being to make the whole sacred. As a consequence it was felt necessary to withdraw the cup entirely from the laity. Little by little the practice and the doctrine grew side by side, until in the councils of Constance and Basel the decree went forth that the communion of the laity should be in "one kind," that is, of the bread only. Still, it was not until three centuries later that Benedict XIV (1740-58) was able completely to put the custom into execution. Smend also gives many interesting facts relative to the former practices of the Church. As early as the fifth century it was recommended that the communicant should take something to eat immediately after the Lord's Supper, lest in some way he might expectorate some of the sacred elements. Hence many churches hit upon the plan to furnish to all communicants bread and wine to be used immediately after the sacrament. Granted the doctrine of transubstantiation and the doctrine promulgated by Anselm, the Roman Catholic practice is at least allowable. Theological speculation generally leads to folly in practice and should be wholly abandoned.

Dogmatik (Dogmatic Theology). By Julius Kaftan. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. The name of Kaftan is one which needs only to be mentioned to arouse interest in the mind of the intelligent theologian. His work on dogmatic theology is destined to increase his fame and usefulness. It is impossible here to do more than merely indicate some of his points of view. One of the most important is characteristic of the entire Ritschlian theology, namely, the principle that every proposition in a system of Christian doctrine must be brought into connection with the life of the individual and receive from the same its convincing force. With reference to the relation of faith and Scripture he teaches that faith has for its immediate object the revelation contained in the Scripture, while, on the other hand, only when one has a personal faith can he be assured of the truth of that revelation. It is to be

observed here that the word faith is used, as by so many writers, in these two propositions in two different senses. But he proceeds to say that if the above-mentioned relation between Christian faith and the historical revelation actually exists, then the idea of inspiration is foreign and secondary. On the other hand, the peculiarity of Christian faith demands that the Scripture shall be conceived of as simply and solely the record of the historical revelation of God. From this it follows that the Scripture must be understood historically. Concerning the deity of Christ, it is held by Kaftan that this deity signifies that in his person we have the perfect and complete revelation of God to man. This, however, has to do with the risen and glorified Christ, since the faith of the disciples prior to the ascension was not Christian faith, which was produced by the appearances of the risen Lord and by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, this ascended Christ is no other than the one who was among men in the flesh, who was the historical Saviour. As to his oneness with God it is mysterious and incomprehensible. Yet this was the very core and center of his consciousness of himself; and in him the will of God was executed, and the spirit and life of God were imparted to man. Jesus, so far as his divinity was concerned, was in God from all eternity. We cannot get on without the thought of a real, as distinguished from an ideal, preexistence of Christ, though it is necessary to bear in mind the inadequacy of the expression. Jesus would have been incarnated according to the counsels of God, even had man never sinned. As to the manner of the incarnation, it can only be said that it differs absolutely from birth and development as ordinarily seen in the world. These brief statements show that, though accompanied by many cautions and provisos, Kaftan is in reality orthodox on the main points. To the confusion of many hasty critics of the Ritschlian theology so much must be said.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Modern Preaching from German Pulpits. The German idea of modern preaching does not demand the so-called up-to-date topics employed in America. One will seldom hear any reference in the German pulpit to disputed subjects in theology. These are rightly left to the schools. Nor does one often find a preacher who takes up the latest sensation, whether local, national, or international. The German notion of modern preaching is that it should meet the demands of present-day ethical and religious conditions. It must be said in truth that there is very little attempt to be modern in this or in any other sense. The average German preacher goes the round of the topics of the ecclesiastical year, as though this was in exact correspondence with the needs of his congregation. In fact, the pastors of the German State Church scarcely pretend to know the immediate needs of their flocks. The parishes are too large for such knowledge. Any information bearing on the subject

must be obtained from literary sources, rather than from personal contact with the people. This would be, under given conditions, a distinct advantage over the methods employed in America. The preachers are prevented from emphasizing unduly the merely local, temporary, and sensational in current thought and activity. They are in a position to adapt their preaching only to the profounder and more permanent aspects of the life about them. Both they and their congregations are thereby saved from the distractions which American churchgoers suffer at the hands of many of the clergy. But, while there is very little effort to adapt preaching to the needs of the times, there are those who believe there ought to be more of such effort. It is claimed by them that one of the characteristics of modern German church life is a disposition to get on smoothly with one's own conscience. Modern preaching, according to their view, ought to make the unconsecrated or morally depraved in the congregations feel uncomfortable, and thus lead them to feel a need of pardon, regeneration, and a holy life. More of such modern preaching is needed in America also.

Ultramontaniam in Alsace and Lorraine. In September, 1897, Pastor Gerbert, of Biebrich, Alsace-Lorraine, delivered an address in Berlin in which he described a Roman Catholic procession, one of whose features was a cross to which was fastened an almost nude boy with a couple of girls, fifteen or sixteen years old, kneeling before him. This he described as a shameful profanation of that which is most sacred in Christianity. The Ultramontane press at first denied *in toto* the truth of his allegations, and even high ecclesiastics, having professed to investigate the matter, pronounced the story false. Gerbert was brought to trial under the laws protecting the religious sentiments and practices from insult. He was found guilty and fined fifty marks, while his accusers were required to pay the costs. The court held, however, that in the main the story as told by Gerbert was true, or at least had not been proved false by his accusers. It was brought out in the trial that the names of the accusers, who numbered one hundred and sixty-six, were at least in some cases secured by misrepresentation. But what is most striking of all is that such high officials in the Church as a bishop and a general vicar did not know that the use of "living pictures" in such processions is strictly forbidden by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, that the attorney for the accusers had the effrontery to assert that Alsace-Lorraine was not a country in which religious equality between Romanists and Protestants exists, and that as the German empire was founded by Pope Leo III the rightful emperor must always be a Roman Catholic. If we add to this the statement of the court in the Gerbert case that in Lorraine the priesthood often combines national, linguistic, and confessional enmity to Germany, we see something of the spirit of Ultramontaniam in Alsace and Lorraine.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE centralization of wealth in the hands of a few is a feature of American life to which no student of social science can be indifferent. In the *Christian Quarterly* for January, 1899, its editor, W. T. Moore, regards the fact as ominous, and discusses with vigor the question, "How Shall We Save the Rich?" As an illustration of the centralization of property he writes: "It has been stated that recently twenty-one railroad magnates met in New York to discuss the question of railroad competition, and that these gentlemen represented the enormous sum of three billions of dollars. This is undoubtedly a startling fact, and ought to call very earnest attention to two exceedingly dangerous tendencies, namely, the rapid increase of wealth and the absorption of that wealth by comparatively a few individuals. Let us take a few facts from a very conservative calculation with respect to the wealth of New York City. We find the surprising number of 1,157 individuals and estates that are each worth not less than \$1,000,000. That is, there are in New York City over 1,100 millionaires, while in Brooklyn there are 162 millionaires, making 1,319 in the two cities, or what is now called Greater New York. The nine wealthiest estates in the United States are said to be as follows: William Waldorf Astor, \$150,000,000; J. Gould, \$100,000,000; John D. Rockefeller, \$90,000,000; Cornelius Vanderbilt, \$90,000,000; William K. Vanderbilt, \$80,000,000; Henry E. Flagler, \$60,000,000; John L. Blair, \$50,000,000; Russell Sage, \$50,000,000; Collis P. Huntington, \$50,000,000; making the grand total of \$720,000,000. . . . Nor is this all. Eight members of the Vanderbilt family are estimated to be worth \$254,000,000; while the Standard Oil Company, composed of nine (specially wealthy) persons, is reckoned to be worth \$825,000,000. It must be remembered also that this immense sum has been accumulated within twenty years." Of the danger which this condition implies the author further writes: "Who does not know that wealth begets profligacy, and that the downfall of nations has usually started from the temple of fortune? The historian, Rollins, tells us that the opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury and such a dissoluteness of manners as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments, and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in dressing dishes and inventing new refinements to please the palate. . . . When we hear of dinner parties costing \$50,000 in the houses of some of our rich men, surely we are not in a position to speak contemptuously of the Sybarites; and, when Mrs. Brown is determined by hook or crook to make her party 'outshine' that of Mrs. Smith, it is evident we are already passing

through the zodiac of danger to at least republican institutions." But how does the writer propose to "save the rich?" First, he replies, the "strong arm of the law ought to be used in bringing about a more equal distribution of wealth." While realizing the delicacy of pressing such a point he suggests: "Let there be laws passed which will make labor and capital coordinates in every enterprise where they are called upon to assist each other. Let the cooperative system be compulsory in all cases where capital employs labor or where labor seeks to employ capital." Secondly, much "might be done through our colleges, the public press, churches, etc., in creating a public conscience that will so severely condemn excessive money-getting as will make it impossible for selfish millionaires to live at peace in any well-educated community." And, lastly, the author is persuaded that "it is possible by faithful preaching through all the instrumentalities . . . mentioned to create a better conception of what success is than is now held by the average millionaire. . . . Christ's success is wholly owing to the fact that he taught and lived in direct opposition to everything that now makes it possible for a man to be a millionaire in this life. Can we not make the rich see this? Can we not make them feel it? Can we not make them act upon it?" The author's closing position as to the laying up of earthly treasures is the extreme view whose observance would render great riches impossible: "Every Christian is here to do good. Of course this involves a proper care for himself and his family; but beyond providing for these what is needful for education and reasonable comfort no Christian man has a right to lay up a dollar. As has already been intimated, he may retain enough means for a reasonable capital on which to do business for the Lord; but whatever is beyond this is sin, and the sooner he learns this fact the sooner our plea for the return to primitive Christianity will be understood and respected."

IN two foreign periodicals for January the existing controversy in the English Church receives consideration. The article in the *Edinburgh Review* is entitled "The Unrest in the Church of England," and makes six recent publications on the subject the basis of its discussion. The first of these is the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Charge Delivered at his first Visitation," in which he states that "among the modern clergy the doctrine of Hooker as to the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is giving place to a doctrine akin to consubstantiation." Sir William Harcourt, as a participant in the discussion, has written "a series of vigorous letters" to the *Times*, in which he "has set himself at the head of the more distinctly Protestant section of Church feeling. He alleges that a vast conspiracy exists among the clergy to 'Romanize' the National Church. By means of 'special services' and the gradual introduction of Roman forms and practices the ritualistic clergy are attempting, he says, to undermine the triumphs of

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the Reformation and to bring about the return of Englishmen to Roman doctrine and ultimately to the Roman fold." In Canon Gore's recent volume is expressed the dissatisfaction of different writers with "a constitution which makes Parliament virtually the sole legislative authority for the Church of England. The authority of Parliament, it is urged, is more and more centered in the House of Commons, an assembly consisting, not merely of Churchmen or even of Christians, but having also among its members, in greater or less number, Jews, infidels, and heretics. Yet Parliament, and only Parliament, can alter a paragraph, or article, or single line of a single rubric of a book which was framed in substance more than three and a quarter centuries ago." The three other publications on which comment is made are by Drs. Maitland, Ball, and Warren respectively, the conclusion of the whole article being the belief that "the general desire of the English lay world is to uphold in Church and State on its main lines the system which, with occasional modifications, has existed since the Reformation." The second article on the same general subject is found in the *London Quarterly Review*, and is entitled "The Present Crisis in the Church of England." Besides its notice of the publications of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Canon Gore already mentioned it gives a large consideration to the results of the Oxford movement as suggested by the recent history of Walter Walsh. Three "evil features" of this movement have been "the thinly veiled spirit of insubordination to the rightful authority of the bishops;" the "adoption of a position which requires the constant exercise of a faculty for drawing oversubtle distinctions and for skillfully evading actual illegality," and which "must of necessity undermine the habit of robust truthfulness which is, above all else, vital to moral integrity;" and, lastly, "the secrecy of the movement," "the multiplication of societies whose objects, proceedings, and members are hidden from the light of day," and the "deliberate and ostentatious adoption of the principle of 'reserve in communicating religious knowledge.'" The conclusion of the whole, according to the reviewer, J. Scott Lidgett, is that disestablishment is "the probable issue of the present situation; and the programme of the reformers shows that disestablishment might probably bring a great accession both of vigor and of wisdom to the Church itself."

THE *Review of Reviews* for February is largely devoted to topics relating to the late war with Spain or to its results. Among its papers one of much interest is entitled "Aguinaldo: A Character Sketch." The writer exalts its hero to a lofty rank among leaders—too lofty, it may be, to meet the best judgment of many. The notable company in which he places Aguinaldo is indicated as follows: "When any man holding a high position is praised on the one side and abused on the other he generally is a person of more than average ability. When the praise and the abuse divide the reading public of a dozen civilized countries he

may be justly regarded as a character of considerable historical importance. The personages who have passed through this ordeal in the present century include Napoleon Bonaparte, Disraeli, Gladstone, Louis Napoleon, and—greatest of all—Bismarck. To this list may now be added the name of the great Filipino insurgent, Aguinaldo." While this estimate seems extravagant regarding one who has not yet won his rank by any great achievement in war or statecraft, it nevertheless appears from the sketch that Aguinaldo ranks far above his fellows in native gifts. Such opportunities, furthermore, as fortune has brought him for study and improvement he has diligently improved. Belonging also to "a community which for more than three hundred years has undergone a political, civil, and ecclesiastical tyranny of the most pronounced type," he has shown a skill in leadership which for the islands of the far East is remarkable. So that we can at least accept the conclusion of this biographical sketch as a moderate estimate of the case, "He has done better than anyone possibly believed, a year ago, and he has shown the world that the Filipino is capable of that self-control upon which all good government must be based." And with a measure of generous regret we may also contemplate Aguinaldo's latest reverses in war and the probable disappearance of his star below the horizon.

To the mention of the *London Quarterly* in a previous paragraph a fuller reference may now be added. The January number appears in a new dress and begins a new series. Besides its article on "The Present Crisis in the Church of England" its table of contents has: "The Effect of the Recent War upon American Character," by C. J. Little, D.D.; "The Historical and Spiritual Christ," by R. M. Pope; "Vacation Rambles of a Naturalist," by L. C. Miall, F.R.S.; "David Hill," by S. R. Hodge; "Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries of the Bible," by Agnes Smith Lewis; "The Wound Dresser," by R. C. Cowell; "Egypt and the Soudan," by U. A. Forbes; "Sport in the Caucasus," by H. D. Lowry; "Methodism and the Age," by the Editor. The number is a strong issue, and does honor to English Methodism.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January is found the following table of contents: 1. "Christianity and the Cosmic Philosophy," by Professor H. C. Minton, D.D.; 2. "The Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics: V. Immortality," by Professor W. B. Greene, Jr., D.D.; 3. "Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, The Representative Theologian of the Nineteenth Century," by Rev. James Lindsay; 4. "The Modern Hypothesis and Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets: Isaiah," by Professor Geerhardus Vos, D.D.; 5. "Herbert Spencer, 'Our Great Philosopher,' versus The Known God," by D. S. Gregory, D.D.; 6. "John of Barneveldt, Martyr or Traitor," by Professor H. E. Dosker, D.D.; 7. Critical and Historical Notes; 8. Review of Recent Theological Literature.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Freedom and Meditation. By Rev. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 23.
Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 24 Franklin Street. Price, paper, 20 cents.

This is the sermon preached by appointment before the National Council of Congregational Churches, at Portland, Ore., on Sunday, July 10, 1898. The text is Eph. ii, 14: "He is our peace." The introduction is in part as follows: "Whether the letter to the Ephesians were written, as some assert, in the year 59 or 60, when Paul was a prisoner at Caesarea, or two or three years later from the period of the early imprisonment at Rome; whether it were definitely addressed to the Ephesian Church, which Paul peculiarly loved, or was intended rather as an encyclical, and sent to Ephesus because that city was the capital of proconsular Asia—in either case the document has, on the whole, held its own against the storm of critical assault, and vindicates itself as being the authentic product of Paul's mind at the full maturity of its power. Its so-called 'insipidities of diction' are insipid only to unspiritual critics, who fail to discern in the noble carelessness and even redundancy of phrase, which a more self-conscious art might prune away, the natural expression of a man writing at white heat and pouring out his whole soul to men whom he perfectly trusts. The letter, in truth, for spirit and substance, is on the very highest Pauline level, 'exceedingly full,' to use Chrysostom's noble eulogy of this epistle; 'exceedingly full of thoughts and lofty things, so that what Paul nowhere else even utters, that he here explains.'" Speaking of the cleavage of present religious thought in every Christian communion between "conservative" and "liberal" tendencies, Dr. Lyman says: "Would any man dare to say that each side, upon this issue, does not possess a truth, though the truth may be more conspicuously manifest on one side than on the other? Would any man dare to say that the irenic creeds, articulating the common faith of the Church universal, do not express also much of the very mind of Christ? '*Vox Ecclesiae, vox Christi.*' From my soul I believe it. And, on the other hand, is it not possible that the Protestant axiom of the right of private judgment reaches the very point of its both legitimate and logical fulfillment and finish in the critical methods of the present hour? But what can mediate between sentiments which seem so far asunder as these, except intelligence, perfectly free and fair, and inspired, moreover, with the supreme energy of the Christ-like love? Now, the perfect type of such liberty of intelligence is found in Jesus himself, and only by means of it could he 'abolish' the 'enmity' to which the apostle refers. But, perhaps, we have not been accustomed to regard our Master as incarnating liberty as well

as love. Our Christology must be finer. It must discover in Jesus the typical freeman, in Christ the divine incarnation of freedom itself. Let us dare to surmise that only God's free self in man's free self can be, in the perfect sense, our 'peace.' Begin, if you will, down on the firm ground floor of undoubted historical data. See how free Jesus stands as a man, in relation to the human life of his time—this beautiful young Stranger of thirty-three—in the midst of the crowd. Who was he? Everybody's Free Friend; so that the rigorists found fault with this very thing, namely, the genial freedom of the way he had. This spirit of freedom in Jesus was, indeed, most reverent and delicate, but not less daring than it was delicate. Into it entered no drop of selfishness or disdain or haughty pride, and it was pervaded with a most sweet acquiescence with the Father's law. It was the freedom of a Christ, yet it was freedom. And he followed this free spirit so far that in outward forms he broke loose both from the civic ambitions and the religious customs of his times, while perfectly fulfilling, indeed, the deeper spirit of both. He loved not lawless, but unfettered things. He loved nature, and he loved little children, and he moved about Palestine as free as the wind, and as law-abiding. And when we carry the analysis as far as we dare toward the profounder and diviner mysteries of that God-man, we yet never lose the note of liberty in connection with that of love. 'I lay down my life,' he murmurs. 'No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.' Under God and his law Jesus Christ surely stood for liberty as well as love. The incomparable charm of his matchless grace was the beauty of love in its freedom to serve. And this liberty which Jesus Christ displayed was an intellectual liberty. What large, free play of mental faculty in the responses, the maxims, the discourses of Jesus! Indeed, there can be no true liberty without liberty of intelligence. Thought and freedom are correlatives. Let us insist upon that when it is the fad to assume the contrary. Against the pseudo-science which flaunts the philosophy of fatalism; against the current fatalistic literature—the literature of the iron chain, the literature of Ibsen and Maeterlinck and Hardy and Hall Caine, which plays the dead march in front of the jail, which invokes upon its art the benediction of despair—let us dare, with a sober gayety and faith, still to maintain that the ultimate force is a force, not of fate, but of free will and love. God is not passionless and relentless—a Matterhorn at midnight—so much as he is Calvary, with the resurrection coming on. Freedom is a part of reason and a part of love, and, together with reason and love, is incarnate in the Christ. Wide, fair, fluent, delicate, Christ's intelligence commanded both sides of every 'partition wall.' With sweetest grace and steady poise, it could disentangle the good from the evil, the true from the false, and unite the partial excellences on both sides in one 'new man, so making peace.' Mediation between men, therefore, might we dare

to say, becomes an intellectual phase of redemption itself. Christ is the supreme Mediator, the supreme 'Peace,' because he stands as truly for the fine freedom of rational justice as he stands for love." Referring also to the condition of conflict in religious thought, the preacher says that it is conflict in the interest of a wider freedom and a nobler peace: "For is not this very relation of initial controversies to final harmonies the distinguishing mark of the time in the fields of religious thought? Our debates are as strenuous as ever, but something new is underneath them. Gladstone lies sleeping at last 'under the wings of renown' in the venerable abbey which Macaulay, you remember, called 'That temple of reconciliation, where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried.' Are we not beginning to see the rising walls of a temple of reconciliation for the living, wherein Christ stands at the open door?" The questions in controversy are, it is true, imminent and wide. Old 'enmities' which are in the domain of 'ordinances' still divide even Christian men. Not only the supreme question of the age confronts us, What is the relation of the world of nature and scientific truth to the field of faith?—but sharper issues are urged. A critical intellectualism, on the one hand, restating the origin and content of the biblical literature, meets on the other hand a profound renaissance of faith in the authority of the irenic creeds, as articulating something of that Spirit of Christ which was promised to be always with his people; while, on the arena of practical affairs, in the Church and out of it, the field to the horizon is tumultuous with the stimulating though rather bewildering claims of the new sociology. Then, too, there are questions, more specific still, already enunciated in the papers to which this council has listened. The relation of our Churches, for example, to current ethical and public reforms; the question, than which none other is more imperative, of more practical federation of interests in our denominational field, as well as that magnificent and prophetic question of the closer federation of all our Protestant communions, in common Christian work and even worship. Questions such as these, instant and insistent, are at our doors, and concerning them our best and wisest men are not all agreed. But although the century is thus closing in our religious arena with such tumult of interrogation and debate, everywhere beneath the surface one feels the straining muscles of a double passion, not only that passion for intellectual liberty which was the bequest of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth, but the still deeper passion for a more spiritual and practical fraternity which is to be the bequest of the nineteenth century to the twentieth. And this deeper impulse toward fellowship is associated with a freshened and loftier sense of Christ. A more spiritual alliance is discoverable between freedom and faith. Men 'loose' are yet walking *together* in the intellectual furnace of the time because with them walks the 'form like the Son of God.'" Dr. Lyman holds that the spirit of mediation is increasing in all our great Protestant bodies; that it is more and more illustrated in the actual

temper, the personal endeavor and achievement of representative Christian men and schools. He thinks, for example, that Principal Fairbairn's temper is expressed in his words, "The society of the Son of God is a family of brothers." He says there are many men of similar temper on both sides of the sea. To Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale, this is his fitting reference: "If this were the fitting moment, one would quickly speak the name, for example, of our own noble scholar and Church historian, the enthusiasm of forty classes of students in yonder Divinity Hall beneath the elms, who, in the environment of a great university and fearlessly sympathetic with its spirit of literary and scientific criticism, has yet illustrated with singular breadth and constancy the spirit of fidelity to the ancient faith." Referring to Dr. Richard S. Storrs and his great mediating, reconciling, unifying work in the American Board, during his eight years' presidency over it, are these just words: "One would speak that other name, which seems to shine across the land with a certain serene splendor, of him who sits crowned in our Congregational fellowship, about whose honored head the shadow of a supreme bereavement fell with last winter's snows; who, for more than fifty lustrous and devoted years, has proclaimed the pilgrim's faith; who, while inheriting and maintaining the traditions of a conservative ministry, yet stretched his two hands to the tips of both 'wings' of our American Board, interpreting each to the other, and steadily uniting them, until the threat of division passed away, and he was able to lay in the hands of a successor of kindred spirit, '*suaviter in modo fortiter in re*,' the tested precedent and accomplished authority of a policy of Christian mediation, of union and of progress. In such instances and offices speaks the genuine and typical Mediator—the Peacemaker." The following appeal to the ministry of his own Church is equally suited to other denominations than his own: "Let every Congregationalist, then, resolve to be himself plus something of his antagonist, in the spirit of that phrase of Burke, 'Our antagonist is our helper.' It is a peculiar attitude and temper which we need, I imagine, a certain air of intellectual and Christian chivalry. Let us especially avoid partisan polemics in Church councils, as well as in preaching, in writing, in denominational discussions. In a word, let us not carry the cudgel in front of the lantern, but the lantern in front of the cudgel. Let us be genial in little matters and fair in big ones. Polemics may speak the truth, yet not speak it 'in love.' Let us strain toward the common centers of things. Why should it be thought hopeless to practically unite a conservative liberalism and a liberal conservatism? I love the magnificent, manly splendor of that double thickness, suggested in such mutual extension and overlapping of complementary sentiments." Dr. Lyman's sermon closes in the same noble wisdom of spirit which warms and sweetens its whole course: "Christianity on its human side is comradeship raised to the level of consecration. Let us not fling stones at fossils; we have other work to do. Let us be marching men, not sitting too long by last

night's camp fires. With a certain buoyancy of purpose let us carry the flag of Christ, the double flag of liberty and faith, through the splendid opening twentieth century doors. And if the hands must ache and even bleed which hold that standard steady, let them ache, let them bleed. God is with us in the rocking time. If he were not, it would not rock so nobly. God is with us, because Christ is with us. Things are moving, on the whole, not from good to bad, not from bad to worse, not from bad to good, but from good to better. This is the creed of the reverent evolutionist and the Christian; it is the inspired optimism of St. Paul: 'For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.' I plead for a definite and supreme endeavor everywhere among us to illustrate with an utter gallantry the spirit of the Christian mediation. I plead that freedom shall count itself bound under Christ's law of service. I plead that if any man or body of men dares to assume the awful and splendid rôle of freedom at the foot of the cross, that man or body of men shall be mediatorial as well as free, that so 'speaking truth in love [we] may grow up in all things into him, which is the head, even Christ, from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.' "

Luxury and Sacrifice. By CHARLES F. DOLE, author of *The Coming People, The Golden Rule in Business, The American Citizen*, etc. 12mo, pp. 63. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

Luxury is a relative term. Some may think the author's remonstrance against some degrees and forms of luxury not strenuous enough. His own view is put with clearness and consistency. His definition and doctrine of sacrifice are clear, wholesome, and practicable. We quote: "From all our experiences we read a profound law of life. The law of man's life is to march erect, with his face to the front. To look backward, to live regretful over the past, to contemplate its disappointments and reverses, and to stay in the evil company of one's mistakes and sins, is to thwart and spoil life. If a man were his own master he might have a right thus to live in the past, to beat his breast as much as he pleased, to shut himself up in the grim castle of his egotism. The truth is, he is not his own master. He is like a soldier under orders to hasten forward. Lame, wounded, beaten, blinded, he is still in the service; he must add his little to the help of the rest. While life lasts, it is all for the sake of the great cause. Pleasure and personal success become, therefore, incidental. The man's work is larger than to get pleasure or success for himself. His work is to put his whole life out in the service of the beneficent powers. He may seem, like William the Silent, never to win success in his immediate undertakings. It is enough that God's life flows in him. If God's life is his, joy is his too. He takes it as the soldier takes his rations, his rest, or his furlough, or, on occasion, the tremendous ventures of battle. 'March on,' is the voice of the Master.

Trust him for more joy and new life as you go. Real life is here and now; it meets you as you move on. As Browning says:

Was it for mere fool's play, make-believe and mumming,
So we battled it like men, not boylike, sulked or whined?
Each of us heard clang God's 'Come!' and each was coming:
Soldiers all, to forward-face, not sneaks to lag behind!

How of the field's fortune? That concerned our Leader!
Led, we struck our stroke nor cared for doings left and right;
Each as on his sole head, faller or succeeder,
Lay the blame or lit the praise: no care for cowards: fight!"

Of sacrifice the author writes as follows: "We ought by this time to have taken the word 'sacrifice' entirely out of the class of dreadful and negative things, and to have placed it forever where it belongs, among the great positive and inspiring watchwords. What every chivalrous soul really wants is the opportunity of sacrifice, in other words, the opportunity of growth and life. Jesus expressed this fact when he said that the kingdom of God was 'like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found the pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.' What should we say if this man began to tell us of the terrible loss that he had undergone! The fact is, the man was never so rich before. His sacrifice was simply the process of translation from lower values into higher and more precious terms. The child gives up his own way to obey his mother; in that act he grows toward manhood. The youth gives up time and money to secure an education. It is not loss, but wise investment. The bridegroom says, 'With all my worldly goods I thee endow;' the words of seeming renunciation are the fulfillment of all the lover's hopes. The mother forgets herself in her children; Nathan Hale, the patriot boy, gives his life. John Bright, the stalwart English reformer, with his young wife lying dead in his house, puts away his own personal sorrow at the thought of the needs of the poor, to do immediate public service for his country. You do not altogether pity the suffering mother, the martyred patriot, the burdened statesman and reformer. You glory in them; all men are richer for them; they opened the way for more life to come into the world. The hope of immortality itself stands in such lives. There is no difficulty now in understanding what has seemed to many one of the most difficult in the stories of the New Testament. It is the story of Jesus's treatment of the rich young man, earnest and lovable, who came asking what he must do to possess eternal life. Jesus's treatment of him seems almost harsh. Why should a man who had kept all the laws fail of winning eternal life? The fact is the young man had not yet caught the idea of what the quality of 'eternal life' is. He knew what a respectable personal life was, but he did not yet see that larger and higher thing, the social and universal life—the life of God's sons. Eternal life is the life of sacrifice. We can imagine that some fine young man had come to Washington at Valley Forge with the question, what he needed

to do to enter into the life of a patriot. Would Washington have simply told him to go on keeping the laws of his country? But the times demanded, as they always demand, something more vital than to keep the laws of decent society. 'If you want to be a patriot,' we can hear Washington say; 'if you wish to be one of my men, do what I am doing; put your fortune and life at risk, come with us and serve the utmost needs of the people.' As a matter of fact, Washington lost neither his life nor his fortune, but he sacrificed them, that is, he held them utterly at the disposal of his country. And we all truly see the gulf of difference between such patriots as Washington and the men at Valley Forge, and men who merely kept the laws and looked after their property in New York and Philadelphia. So we all see the difference between the rich young ruler and Jesus. It is the world-wide difference between the narrow or selfish life and the social, the universal, the 'eternal' life, which holds all things as from God and for man. . . . Christianity has hitherto only partially, feebly, and waveringly taught its great doctrine. Christendom has not believed its own gospel. Forsaking the vital religion of Jesus and of all the heroes and saints as impracticable, men have put up with a sort of conventional Christianity, from which the great ideas of the Golden Rule and the real presence of God were dropped out. We are only beginning to find that these majestic ideas may be trusted and followed to their splendid conclusions, as surely as the law of gravitation or the fact of the sunshine. The fundamental duty of sacrifice is not a sad, repellent, negative rule, to scare the hearts of youth, to minimize life, to check man's eager desire for joy. It is a grand highway, where life may run to its fullest accomplishment and realization. It is a word to stir the chivalry of ardent and noble souls. We cannot repeat to this generation too clearly its stirring gospel—as sure as the universe—that it is safe and beautiful to live as if in the presence of God; that it is safe and beautiful to trust the voices of conscience and love—God's testimony within us; that this is to make all life sacred, to bring life to its highest efficiency. All details and conditions fall under the one comprehensive law. To sacrifice luxuries is to handle them efficiently for love's sake. How shall they do the most human service? To sacrifice money is to consecrate it to its largest opportunities in making men wise, free, virtuous, happy. To sacrifice time, so far from wasting it, is to spend it in the noblest way. Livingstone and Armstrong, men say, sacrificed their chances for making a fortune. In other words, they gave up a lower and smaller kind of life to take a higher and richer career. Shaw and Winthrop and many another young man in the time of the civil war died at the outset of their career. Jesus died a young man. Was this loss of life? Did Herod or Caiaphas or Caesar begin to have life as Jesus enjoyed it? In the eyes of clear intelligence, then, to make a sacrifice is to be doing precisely the thing which is best and most fruitful. To live a life of sacrifice is to be doing at every moment the most useful thing possible; it is to be constantly

using the whole of one's power; it is, therefore, to be most alive. What can any man want more and better than this? Is not this the religion for the twentieth century?"

The Modern Reader's Bible. A Series of Works from the Sacred Scriptures Presented in Modern Literary Form. [In Twenty-two Volumes.] By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A. (Camb.), Ph.D. (Penn.), Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago. Small 18mo. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents each; flexible leather, 60 cents each.

In this age of indifference to the Scriptures on the part of many all volumes are to be welcomed which tend to foster an increased reverence for the word and a disposition to read with frequency its sacred pages. Measured by this standard the present series of Bible handbooks compels attention and is deserving of unqualified commendation. It must be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that Professor Moulton was led to its preparation. The impairment of interest arising from the artificial division of the Scripture text into verses seems to have been an impelling motive in his authorship, as in his Introduction to Genesis he writes: "To read is easy; but to read with full appreciation is made difficult by certain differences in the form in which books are presented to the eye in ancient and in modern literatures. The differences, it is true, involve no great mystery; they are such as an intelligent reader can correct for himself. But it is also true that such mental checking hampers the faculty of appreciation; books under such circumstances will be read, but not read with a zest. The constant necessity of mentally allowing for difference of literary form makes such reading resemble the use of a microscope with an imperfectly adjusted focus. By thinking, it is possible to make out what the blurred picture should be; but the observer's attention wearies, and all the while a turn or two of a wheel would give clear vision. To assist such mental adjustment to the form of biblical literature is the aim of the *Modern Reader's Bible*." The method in which Dr. Moulton has sought this desirable result is by the elimination of the verse divisions found in the King James Version and the arrangement into sections, with appropriate headings, of the different topics of the Scripture text. The throwing into poetical form of those portions of the Bible which call for versification is moreover a feature which must be delightful to every reader. To each of the numbers of the series the editor has added an Introduction, Notes, and Index—all of these departments contributing to the completeness of each book and making each in some sense a substitute for the formal commentary. Of the author's classification of the books of Scripture into various groups there is no particular necessity to speak. The twenty-second volume is entitled "Bible Stories," and is announced to be a "Children's Number." In text the professor has followed the Revised Version, "with marginal alternatives often adopted;" and in easy print and smallness of volume he has sought the convenience of the user. Altogether he has given a new charm to the pages of the Scripture. We know of

one Christian home whose members are reading with new zeal the message of God in this modern dress. The number of such readers should be greatly multiplied.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Metaphysics. By BORDEN F. BOWNE, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. Revised Edition from new plates. 8vo, pp. 429. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.60.

This is the book, in noticing the first edition of which Dr. Daniel Curry wrote, "Professor Bowne is the greatest metaphysician of this age, perhaps of any age—the greatest because the clearest." Not often does the average man find metaphysics enticing and exhilarating, but the keenness and brilliance of this book make it fascinating. For omnipresent and sustained intellectual mastery, for piercing criticism, for flawless continuity of reasoning, for unerring precision of thought, for translucence of expression, for simplification, intelligibility, illumination, and convincingness, this volume is unmatched in the literature of metaphysics. It will enable the common man to feel at home, and will give him a sense of getting on in regions where, because of mists or his own lack of vision, he has seen no pathway. The author keeps so steadily in touch with familiar realities and makes the way so clear and solid from them to others unfamiliar and recondite that the reader never feels lost or far from home, but is apt to say to himself that a new kind of metaphysician has found him and taken him by the hand. This impression will be made on most readers at the outset by the Preface to this revised edition. The first statement is: "The most marked feature of the revision is the greater emphasis laid on the idealistic element. This has been made more prominent and more consistently developed. . . . It is shown that on the traditional realistic view both thought and being are impossible. . . . I have sought to save idealism from the misunderstandings which are the great source of popular objections to it, and also to make a place for inductive science." The Preface proceeds: "The method pursued in the discussion depends on pedagogical reasons. A direct abstract discussion would be shorter and, for the practiced reader, more satisfactory. But it would be intelligible to only a few, and they would not need it. For the sake of being understood, to say nothing of producing conviction, it is necessary to start from the standpoint of popular thought and to return to it at each new start. In this way it becomes possible to show the thinker on the sense plane the dialectic which is implicit in his own position, and which compels him to move on if thought is to reach anything sure and steadfast. Unless this method is borne in mind it would be easy to find the discussion in constant contradiction with itself. A great deal of the argument is carried on on the basis of the popular realism, but only for the sake of showing the popular speculator the impossibility of reaching anything final on that basis, and thus preparing him to appreciate the more excellent way.

This method involves much repetition, but it is pedagogically necessary in the present stage of speculative development." In cosmology there is need of a searching criticism of fundamental notions in order that we may emerge out of speculative chaos, but the necessity for such criticism is most marked in psychology. Of this Professor Bowne says: "Current psychology, especially of the 'synthetic' sort, has erred and strayed from the way beyond anything possible to lost sheep, because of the unclear and inadmissible metaphysical notions with which it operates. We have, first, an attempt to construe the mental life in terms of mechanism or of the lower categories. This has led to the most extraordinary mythology, in which mental states are hypostasized, impossible dynamic relations feigned, logical identities mistaken for objective temporal identities, and then the entire fiction, which exists only in and through thought, is mistaken for the generator of thought. Here again nothing but criticism can aid us. We must inquire what our 'synthesis' is to mean, and what the factors are which are to be 'synthesized,' and what are the logical conditions of such a synthesis. This inquiry cannot be dispensed with by issuing cards of questions to nurses and young mothers, or by rediscovering world-old items of knowledge by the easy process of constructing new names for them. The dictionary may be enriched in this way, and charming stories gathered concerning the age at which 'our little one began to take notice,' but this journalistic method is more likely to contribute to the 'gayety of nations' than to psychological insight. Neither can we long dispense with the inquiry by the severities of quotation marks, or by assuming a superior manner and claiming for the new psychology everything in sight." The Preface goes on in its practical way: "The mechanical psychology of sensebound thought has overflowed, with no small damage, into the field of popular education. In many cases sheer fictions and illusions are taught for truth, or are made the basis of educational procedure. . . . Much of the information given seems to be on a level with that which M. Jourdain received from his teacher in philosophy. He learned that there are two kinds of letters, vowels and consonants, and two kinds of composition, prose and poetry, and that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it, and that when he pronounced the vowel O he pursed his lips into a circular form, and elongated them when pronouncing A. He also learned how to tell by the almanac when the moon is shining. M. Jourdain was so enchanted with this information that he thought hardly of his parents for neglecting his instruction in his youth, and also gave himself great airs on the strength of the new education, when he met Madame Jourdain and Nicole the domestic. Not a little of popular pedagogics is of this barren and inflating sort. Knowledge still puffeth up. And sometimes the matter is even worse. This thing having become the fad, the intellectually defenseless among teachers and those who would be thought wise are intimidated into accepting it. Hans Christian Andersen's story a little modified illustrates the situa-

tion. Two knaves set up a loom in the market place and gave out that they were weaving fabrics of wondrous beauty and value. To be sure, nothing could be seen; but they set forth that whoever failed to see the goods was thereby shown to be unfit for his place. Accordingly everybody, from the king down, saw the things and praised them, and nobody dared to let on for fear of being thought unfit for his place. And they bought the goods, to the knaves' great profit, and arrayed themselves, and marched in procession in their imaginary attire. And still nobody dared to let on, until a small boy of unsophisticated vision called out: 'Why, they haven't got their clothes on!' This broke the spell. Intimidations of this sort are all too common in the pedagogical world at present. And they will remain until an era of criticism sets in. Then we may hope to be freed from the mythologies of the mechanical and synthetical psychology and from the misleading or sterile formulas of popular pedagogics. For this desirable pedagogical reform it is necessary that we distinguish more carefully between theoretical and practical psychology. Most theoretical psychology is practically barren. If necessary as a sufficient reason for the facts, it nevertheless often leads to nothing. Power over the facts, whether in education or in society, is not gained by studying psychological theories, but by observation and practice, and by experience of life and men." The habitually and severely practical purpose of this metaphysician are partially manifested in the above quotations. We regret lack of space to give further samples of it from the body of the book.

The Bibliotaph and Other People. By LEON H. VINCENT. 12mo, pp. 233. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

These ten papers are reprinted mostly from the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Springfield Republican*, and *Poet Lore*. The first eighty pages contain portraiture and history of the bibliotaph, with spicy chat about his queer ways, his friends, his scrapbooks, and his "bins." The various kinds of book-hunters are classified by their peculiarities. "One man buys books to read, another buys them to gloat over, a third that he may fortify them behind glass doors and keep the key in his pocket. Learned words have been devised to express the varieties of motive and taste. These words begin with *biblio*." Two interesting types of maniac are known as the biblioclast and the bibliotaph. The first of these is one who mutilates books. Such a one was John Bagford, who mutilated ten thousand volumes to form his vast collection of title-pages. He died an unrepentant sinner, lamenting that he could not live long enough to get hold of a genuine Caxton and rip the initial page out of it. The *bibliotaph* buries books; not literally, but sometimes as effectually as if he had put them underground. One sort hoards and hides them like a miser, not using them himself nor allowing anybody else to use them. Another because he is homeless, a bachelor, a wanderer, gathers books only to store them here, there, and yonder. This particular bibliotaph used the garret

of a farmhouse and a village store as storing places for his ever-growing collection. In New York he sometimes frequented the "Diner's Own Home," where scriptural advice and practical suggestions were oddly mingled in placards on the walls. One juxtaposition was this: the first sign read, "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly," and the next one, "Look out for your Hat and Coat." To a gentleman, who would be sixty years of age the following day and who had taken life heartily, he suggested that this message be sent: "You don't look it, but you've lived like it." A certain book-hunter, we are told, found in Montana a Fourth Folio of Shakespeare, with the autograph of William Shakespeare pasted in it, and since then, when he hears some one express a desire for a copy of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, or any other rare book of Elizabeth's time, he smiles and says, "If I could get away I'd run out to Montana and try to pick up a copy for you." Here is a part description given of this bibliotaph: "He was a kind of gigantic and Olympian schoolboy, loving-hearted, bountiful, wholesome, and sterling to the core." Mr. Vincent describes felicitously certain authors who write books but do not make literature; who are authors by their own will and not by gift or grace of God; and whose labored writing is so manifestly done with sweat of brow that one may say of them, as Augustine Birrell said of Professor Freeman and the Bishop of Chester, that they are horn-handed sons of toil and worthy of their wage. In the essay on Thomas Hardy is this: "Ask a man of average morals and attainments why he doesn't go to church. You won't know any better after he has given you his answer. But ask Nat Chapman (a character in one of Hardy's books), and you will not be troubled with ambiguities. He doesn't like to go because Mr. Torkingham's sermons make him think of soul-saving and other uncomfortable topics. So when the son of Torkingham's predecessor asks Nat how it goes with him, that tiller of the soil promptly answers: "Pa'son Tarkenham do tease a feller's conscience that much, that church is no holler-day at all to the limbs as it was in yer reverent father's time." This reminds us of an Episcopalian minister in Connecticut of whose faithful prophesying a somewhat bibulous lawyer said, "I like to hear preaching, I enjoy it for its intellectual interest and stimulus. But that man makes things so hot for me that I declare I can't stand it." At the same place and about the same time a colored hack driver, who was a communicant in that church, said one Monday morning to a vestryman whom he drove to the railway station, "How'd ye like de sermon yist'd'y mornin', Mr. De Z.?" "Yes, sah, yes, sah! Putty plain preachin', sah. De cushins in dat church is putty comfable, but I tell ye, dar was a good many folks dar yist'd'y dat couldn't keep still. Dey kep a squirmen' and a squirmen' and a squirmen'. Yes, sah; dey did." Of the note of melancholy in Hardy's writings our author says: "No man can apprehend life aright and still look upon it as a carnival. He may attain serenity in respect to it, but he can never be jaunty

and flippant. He can never slap life on the back and call it by familiar names. He may hold that the world is indisputably growing better, but he will need to admit that it is having a hard time in so doing." In the essay on "Letters of John Keats" is Keats's statement concerning the daring of his most ambitious efforts: "I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest." The essay, "An Elizabethan Novelist," informs us that Ruskin said that Miss Edgeworth had made virtue so obnoxious that since her time one had hardly dared express the slightest bias in favor of the Ten Commandments. Mr. Vincent offers us an offhand test with which to determine whether or no a given book is literature. "Can you imagine Charles Lamb in the act of reading that book? If you can, it's literature; if you can't, it isn't." The essay, "A Fairminded Man," has for its subject Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, who says that the only person in Leeds who took any interest in the scientific experiments he was carrying on with vials and tubes and retorts and mice and plants was Mr. Hey, a surgeon and a zealous Methodist, who encouraged Priestley's science but combated his theology. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Priestley: "There is one improvement which I wish to see, the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats." A resident of the present "Wide-open" New York suspects a vein of humor in the Tammany Society on reading its description of itself as "a numerous body of freemen, who associate to cultivate among themselves the love of liberty and the enjoyment of the happy republican government under which they live." Priestley was distressed at the widespread infidelity in America at the time of his visit here in 1794, and wondered to find the lawyers almost universally unbelievers. Getting hold of Paine's *Age of Reason*, he said: "It is the weakest and most absurd as well as the most arrogant of anything I have yet seen." The extracts we have made show that Mr. Vincent has given us an extremely racy and vivacious book, which he dedicates with love and admiration to his father, Rev. Dr. B. T. Vincent. The bright volume closes with two charming chapters on "Stevenson: The Vagabond and the Philosopher," and "Stevenson's St. Ives."

Among the Forces. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, author of *Recreations in Astronomy*, *The Bible in the World's Education*, etc. 12mo, pp. 197. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, \$1.

A sober judge says correctly that "natural philosophy in its larger features was never more attractively set before the young mind than in these sketches." These stories about the forces of nature and their operation in accordance with natural laws, while scientifically correct and instructive, are as wonderful and fascinating as *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. But the book is not a juvenile, albeit it should be in every Epworth League or Sunday school library and in every home circle of young people; nor is its purpose limited to expositions of nat-

ural philosophy. Its sublimity, sweep, and splendor will give to the noblest minds elevation, expansion, and exhilaration. To Bishop Warren always things visible, however exquisite, magnificent, stupendous, are intimations of, and ladders up to, the greater wonders of the unseen universe. Watching with awe and ecstasy the play of mighty forces, he sees and shows that all this power and infinitely more belongeth unto God. His unfailing intellectual and spiritual jubilation imparts a healthy buoyancy of soul and sends up a perpetual Alleluia to Him who sitteth on the throne of power and glory and dominion. Whatever path his thought pursues through the wide creation, he goes exulting on his way with a robust, athletic, masculine joyousness. These brilliant chapters tell of The Man who Needed 452,696 Barrels of Water, The Sun's Great Horses, Moon Helps, Star Helps, Helps from Insensible Seas, The Fairy Gravitation, The Help of Inertia, Plant Help, Gas Help, Natural Affection of Metals for Liquids and Gases and for One Another, Creations Now in Progress, Some Curious Behaviors of Atoms, Mobility of Seeming Solids, The Next World to Conquer, Sea Sculpture, and The Power of Vegetable Life. Then there are mountaineering experiences in the Alps, which take the reader to Zermatt, the Riffelberg, the Gorner Grat, up Monte Rosa, up and down the Matterhorn, with all the zest of an enthusiast in mountain climbing, all the knowledge of a natural scientist, and all the vision of an intellectual seer. In the chapters on the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River and the Yellowstone Park Geysers the wonders of American scenery are described in a style which would delight the soul of John Ruskin. The volume closes with what one hardly knows whether to call a scientific discussion or a sublime sermon on Spiritual Dynamics, and with that uplifted argument, projected into eternity, which we printed first in the *Methodist Review* in November, 1896, entitled "When this World is Not." An impressive scientific experiment illustrative of the enormous power of vegetable life is described as follows: "In the Agricultural College at Amherst, Mass., a squash of the yellow Chili variety was put in harness in 1874 to see how much it would lift by its power of growth. It was not an oak or mahogany tree, but a soft, pulpy, squashy squash that one could poke his finger into, nourished through a soft succulent vine that one could mash between finger and thumb. The growing squash was confined in an open harness of iron and wood, and the amount lifted by the expanding squash was indicated by weights on the lever over the top. There were, including seventy nodal roots, more than eighty thousand feet of roots and rootlets. These roots increased one thousand feet in twenty-four hours. They were afforded every advantage by being grown in a hot-bed. On August 21 the squash lifted sixty pounds. By September it lifted a ton. On October 24 it carried over two tons. It grew gnarled like an oak, and its substance was almost as compact as mahogany. Its inner cavity was very small, but it perfectly elaborated its seeds, as usual. The lever which indicated the weight had to be changed for stronger ones from time

to time. More weights were sought. They scurried through the town and got an anvil and pieces of railroad iron and hung them at varying distances on the lever to measure the lifting force. By October 31 the squash was carrying a weight of five thousand pounds. Then, owing to defects in the new contrivance, the rind was broken through without showing what might have been done under better conditions. Every particle of the squash had to be added and find itself elbow room under this tremendous pressure. Such is the power of vegetable life. Life will always assert itself." The account of this experiment is followed with a characteristic reflection: "No wonder that the Lord, seeking some form of speech to represent his power in human souls, says, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.' The tremendous strength of infinite life surges up through the vine and out into all the branches that are really vitally attached. No wonder that much fruit is expected, and that one who knew most of this imparted power said, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.'" An informing and illuminating book Bishop Warren has given us. Let everybody read it!

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850. By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE. Illustrated with maps. In two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 486, 520. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$5.

These volumes suggest to the reader that there are different methods of writing history. The author who prepares text-books in this department for elementary schools and academies must dwell, from the necessities of the case, upon the stirring incidents of exploration, settlement, and warfare; he must describe in graphic words the personality and the deeds of great leaders; and he must linger at length upon all the other concrete incidents which go to make up early national records. But there are other historians—and their work is none the less necessary—who write for the advanced students of great historical movements, and who in this service are untrammelled by the necessity of the pictorial or rigidly chronological method of treatment. To this latter class Mr. Thorpe belongs, and in the volumes now under notice he has evidently made a valuable contribution to the historical literature of his times. His work, as he informs us, "contains the evidence of changes—and, it is believed, of progress—in the ideas and opinions which the American people have held respecting the principles, the organization, and the administration of their civil institutions. It is a record of the evolution of government in this country since the Revolution, and it rests upon authorities hitherto almost entirely disregarded." Of the genesis of government upon these Western shores and the practical necessities which influenced the nature of that government he has much to say at the outset, some of his words being as follows: "Democracy in America is the resultant of Roman, Celtic, and Teutonic ideas. It is a civil composite. Its evolu-

tion is recorded in a series of political adjustments. . . . No American colony broke wholly with the past. The necessity for unrestricted labor compelled a democracy. Had the vast area now comprised within the United States been occupied at the time of its discovery by Europeans by a wealth-accumulating people, however civilized, who permitted European conquest, the conquerors would not have set up a democracy; the Mississippi valley would have repeated the story of Mexico and Peru. Had gold or silver abounded in New England, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, the evolution of democracy on the Atlantic seaboard would have been retarded for centuries. Had the mechanical devices familiar now in lumbering, in mining, in manufacturing, and in agriculture been familiar to the world at the opening of the seventeenth century, democracy in America would still be a matter of political speculation." The relative value of the agriculturist and the manufacturer was furthermore a determining factor in the evolution of democracy. The views of Thomas Jefferson on this value received wide acceptance in the earlier years of our national life. "Accepted without modification they would have held America in a purely agricultural condition. Agriculture and manufactures together have determined the evolution of our institutions. With agricultural institutions slavery was identified, but it could never be identified with manufactures. . . . The most eloquent defenders of slavery were fond of describing the agricultural condition as the ideal state of society. . . . The slaveholding States steadily and successfully resisted all efforts to introduce manufactures among them, and as steadily sought to maintain an agricultural homogeneity which, it must be admitted, was economically as inconsistent as it was unnatural. The economic variations determined by the conflicting interests of city and country, of highland regions and lowland regions, explain many provisions in the constitutions of the commonwealths." The mention of Jefferson suggests his views, expressed in the second volume, upon the value of frequent rotation in the judicial office. He says: "In England, where judges were named and were removed by the will of the hereditary executive, from which branch most was feared and had flowed, it was a great point gained by fixing them for life, by making them independent of that executive; but in a government founded on the popular will this principle operates in a different direction, and against that will we have made them independent of the nation itself. . . . Let the office of judges be for four or for six years; this will bring their conduct at regular periods under revision and probation. We have erred on that point by copying England, where certainly it is a great thing to have judges independent of the government. That there should be public functionaries independent of the nation is an aphorism of the republic." The deep philosophy in this reasoning is no less impressive in these last days, and certainly has its application to short terms of service in other departments besides the legal. The origin of local self-government is traced by Mr. Thorpe as follows: "Local government was passed over by the eighteenth century

constitutions, and was but slightly touched on by those made during the first half of the nineteenth. It was largely a matter of custom or of legislation. In the older States local organization had already been established when their first constitutions were in process of formation. In the North the organization was of the town or township type; in the South, of the county. Town or county government was not an issue at the time of the Revolution. That affected local government only indirectly. The issue was popular government *versus* monarchy, the civil *versus* the military idea in government. America was then a democracy of farmers." The contrast between the Northern and the Southern bar is told as follows: "At the North, although there was less learning at the bar, yet there was a larger practice. Economic conditions there tended to foster the eloquence of abbreviated speech. In Kentucky most of the white men of the county gathered at the courthouses to hear the lawyers discuss an exciting case; in New York the people were too seriously engaged in working their farms, in attending their stores, or in managing their factories to spend their time in listening to the trial of causes. The legal profession was less influential in the North than in the South." Immigration before the year 1820 was but imperfectly tabulated; in 1850 "less than one tenth of the population was foreign born." With the close of the first half of the century "the foreign-born population of the country was not sufficient in numbers to cause any marked change in the organization of local government, or to influence constitutional conventions to introduce provisions in the supreme law affecting the status of persons of foreign birth. To this, however, there is one exception of great moment—the extension of the suffrage. By the modification of suffrage qualifications persons of foreign birth were enabled in some States to vote as soon as they had declared their intention to become citizens." Of the national growth to 1850 Mr. Thorpe concludes as follows: "It was a half century of improvement; of increase of domestic comforts; of more humane treatment of the insane, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the criminal classes. Legislation in restraint of crime, too long vindictive in its purposes, was becoming remedial. Legislatures were compelled to provide educational opportunities for the poor. Slavery was losing its grasp; freedom was pervading the Territories and overspreading the States. Public sentiment, conscience-stricken, was turning helpfully toward the fugitive slave and the free negro, but it was in defiance of custom, laws, and constitution. Seventy-five years had passed since the great Declaration. They were years of hopeful effort to realize its principles." From these fragmentary quotations may be learned the nature of Mr. Thorpe's work. As a philosophical analysis of our history to 1850 it is at once strong and clear. The grouping of topics in some of his chapters is sometimes inconsistent with the caption of those chapters. Yet this is a defect that does not greatly mar the sterling excellence of his work. The indications of patient research are upon every page, and the reader can but wish for the speedy issue of a

supplemental volume tracing the further developments in our national life from 1850 to the close of the century.

Jerusalem the Holy. A Brief History of Ancient Jerusalem; with an Account of the Modern City and its Conditions, Political, Religious, and Social. With fifteen illustrations from photographs, and four maps. By EDWIN SHERMAN WALLACE, Late United States Consul for Palestine. Crown 8vo, pp. 359. New York, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The author of this work rightly assumes that Jerusalem is a city of world-wide interest. "How many times," says he, "has it been described! How many volumes of travel by the amateur and professional tourists make a specialty of the Jerusalem chapter! How many letters to religious and other papers in every Christian land tell the story of the city as it now is! The number of such publications proves that the reading public has been interested in the subject." Nor does the present volume lessen the feeling as to the unique place of the city among the famous centers of human population. As there has been but one Palestine there can be but one Jerusalem in the history of mortal existence until the new Jerusalem descends out of heaven, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." Conceding in the spirit of his volume this exalted rank to Jerusalem, Mr. Wallace writes as an eyewitness of its present life. For five years, in the exercise of his official duties as United States Consul, he was favored with the privilege of permanent residence in the Holy City and the consequent opportunity for full scriptural and antiquarian research. That he put to such a diligent use this rare advantage will be to his many readers a cause for satisfaction. His volume, as a consequence of this long residence in Jerusalem, has the quality of vivid description which makes for interest and instruction. The traditions, topography, customs, and outlook of the Holy City are all included within the compass of his treatment. Its streets and gates, its walls and surrounding hills, its industries and its motley population are all so concreted before the reader that, had he no other book of reference, he would gain no inadequate idea of modern Jerusalem from this painstaking work. Nor does the author write in a spirit of undue subservience to the traditions of Palestine. He thinks for himself, and has a reason for his conclusions, if they are not in harmony with local beliefs. For illustration, his caution in the identification of the localities of famous scriptural events on the testimony of tradition is expressed in his chapter on "The New, or Gordon's, Calvary." A single quotation will suffice to show this disposition. He writes: "Concerning the holy sites of the Holy City anyone has the right to ask why this one is located here or that one there. If the answer given is not satisfactory he has the right to doubt or disbelieve. For instance, when one sees hundreds of Russian pilgrims kneeling devoutly and kissing reverently a spot on the rock on the eastern slope of Mount Moriah, just near where the Jericho road turns to cross the brook Kedron, and is informed that here is where St. Stephen was stoned, he has a right to question the reason for

this localization. The evidence of an old tradition proves nothing. The place of Jewish capital punishment being known and St. Stephen having suffered that punishment, there is no reason to seek another place for his death than the one used commonly in his day. How or when the tradition assigned the event to the spot outside of the present St. Stephen Gate is a matter of no moment. The tradition is groundless. A tradition just as groundless has for fifteen centuries affirmed that the two most momentous facts in Christian history took place on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. To the one whom tradition satisfies this is enough. The one who accepts the *dicta* of the Church without dispute reasons that, as the Church has maintained these two sites during these centuries, he has no right to doubt their genuineness. Had the Church never been mistaken, had she never been compelled to change her position, such acquiescence might be given by even a greater number than now. But, so long as the Church is made up of human creatures dependent upon human judgment, there are those who will refuse absolutely to acknowledge her infallibility. This will be so especially in matters unessential to salvation, to which class certainly belongs the localization of any event connected with the life or death of our Lord." The glimpse of modern Jerusalem which Mr. Wallace gives in his chapter, "The City as it Is To-day," is full of quaint instruction. The reader is impressed, among all else, with the lack of nineteenth century appliances among those Eastern Jews and the general spirit of mediaeval conservatism that obtains as to the introduction of the newer inventions. "Street illumination," for instance, "is still in its infancy. In the entire city there are twenty-eight small oil lamps stuck up here and there on the sides of the houses. They are uncared for, and on a dark night do nothing more than indicate that they are lighted. To believe that they do anything in the way of lessening the gloom is a freak of imagination. American companies wish to put in electric lights if the way is clear. But it is not; several insurmountable barriers intervene." And among these hindrances are Turkish opposition and the fact that the investment would not pay. Nor has the Turk, in his fear of electricity in all forms, any need for the telephone. An American missionary having had a telephone sent to him was forbidden by the authorities to put it in service. "Such an innovation could not be allowed unless he had an order from the sultan. He had no such order, and was in no mood to pay the sum necessary to obtain it. The telephone has been lying unused for several years." The concluding chapters of Mr. Wallace's book are important to those who are concerned as to the outlook for Jerusalem and Palestine. They are entitled: "The Jews in Jerusalem," "The Christians in Jerusalem," "The Moslems," and finally, "The Future of Jerusalem." In the last chapter the author commits himself to the belief in the return of the Jews to Palestine. "The land is waiting," he writes, "the people are ready to come, and will come as soon as protection to life and property is assured. I am

ready to go further and say that the coming inhabitants will be Jews. This must be accepted, or the numerous prophecies that assert it so positively must be thrown out as worthless. . . . The present movements among Jews in many parts of the world indicate their belief in the prophetic assertions. Their eyes are turning toward the land that once was theirs, and their hearts are longing for the day when they, as a people, can dwell securely in it. . . . Anyone desiring to know the millennial future of Jerusalem can find it described on many pages of the inspired word. The only legitimate method for the interpretation of the various allusions to that future city is the natural one, that is, to take just what is there said as it is said, and attempt neither to add to nor detract from the statements." This outline will suffice to give a general impression as to the scope and purpose of Mr. Wallace's volume. It is not a compilation of hasty and inadequate generalizations by some tourist sojourning in Jerusalem for a day and thence departing to talk with oracular utterance of the Holy City. Nor is it too voluminous for easy use. But the author has rather aimed "to combine completeness with brevity, and thus to place in the hands of those who are interested in this city of sacred memories and holy sites a book of such facts as are ascertainable."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Eminent Missionary Women. By MRS. J. T. GRACEY. Introductory notes by Mrs. Joseph Cook and Mrs. S. L. Keen. 12mo, pp. 215. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

No history of Christian missions is fully written that does not include the story of the sacrifices made by consecrated womanhood for the sake of the Gospel. Mrs. Gracey's volume of biographical sketches is a just tribute of praise to the workers she enumerates. In number they are twenty-eight. In location some of them labored for the great cause on this side of the ocean, but were no less truly missionary in spirit than others who went as torchbearers into the darkness of India, Africa, and China. In denomination they belonged to different faiths, Ann Wilkins, Mary Reed, Beulah Woolston, and Clara A. Swain, M.D., being the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church whose life-stories are outlined. The book "represents the several classes of work which women have been able to conduct on the field—educational, evangelistic, literary, medical, or eleemosynary"—and is calculated to meet a felt need in missionary information. The stories of "toil, danger, loneliness, endurance, patience" which it contains, place a new crown upon the brow of Christian woman. As in the past she is to continue an integral and successful factor in Gospel work—until the kingdom comes.

A Memorial of a True Life. A Biography of Hugh McAllister Beaver. By ROBERT E. SPEER. 12mo, pp. 308. New York, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.

The subject of this memoir was descended from an honored family in Pennsylvania, was the son of a recent governor of the State, and was

surrounded by those rare home and school influences which are enriching the age with noble illustrations of American manhood. Responsive to his opportunities he grew into an unusual symmetry and perfection. As a college student he was of pronounced Christian usefulness, and in his short years as a graduate was the means of help and blessing to many. His yearning for the deep things of God, his deadness to the world, his sweetness of life, and his expressions of rare intimacy with his Lord gave him rank with those seraphic spirits that now and then live on the earth to show stumbling and sordid men the possibilities of grace. A memorial service was held for him in Northfield, where he had been a worker, at which meeting Mr. Moody said that no other visitors among them had left such impressions as Hugh Beaver and Professor Drummond. His early departure is another of those mysteries over which many Christian workers grieve and which they may not understand.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons for 1890. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 392. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

We believe it to be the plain unexaggerated truth that this book is the best of all helps to the study of the lessons for the year. With the rich abundance of its original and selected comments, methods of teaching, illustrative stories, practical applications, notes on Eastern life, library references, maps, tables, pictures, and diagrams, nothing seems lacking that anyone could need or desire.

One Thousand Questions and Answers Concerning the Methodist Episcopal Church, its History, Government, Doctrines, and Usages, including the Origin, Polity, and Progress of All Other Methodist Bodies. By HENRY WHEELER, D.D., author of *Methodism and the Temperance Reformation*, etc. 12mo, pp. 239. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

It is often easier to ask than to answer questions. Dr. Wheeler is not one, however, who has perpetrated a series of conundrums for the delectation of the reader in an idle hour. In serious purpose, if in an unusual manner, he has here prepared a worthy outline of our denominational history, doctrines, and polity. No volume of its kind can be edited without a most patient and long-continued gathering of information from many sources; and because of its encyclopedic character it is the more deserving of notice. As a handbook of information for such organizations as our Sunday schools and Epworth Leagues it should go forth upon a large mission of usefulness.

The Wondrous Cross and Other Sermons. By DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D., Pastor of the Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, New York. 12mo, pp. 351. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Dr. Burrell ranks among the most influential preachers of his city. These discourses are scholarly and strong, and ring with evangelistic appeals to men. The world needs more of such earnest preaching as the new century opens.

